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REPORT

[WITH EVIDENCE]

OF THE

Peshawar Enquiry Committee

APPOINTED BY

THE WORKING COMMITTEE

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

MR. V. J. PATEL, *Chairman*

ALLAHABAD

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THE PESHAWAR ENQUIRY COMMITTEE
1930

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To

Pandit Motilal Nehru

Acting President of the All India Congress Committee

Allahabad

Sir,

We submit herewith the report of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the Congress by its Resolution dated the 14th May 1930.

We are

Yours faithfully

V. J. Patel (*Chairman*)

M. M. Kifayatullah

Duni Chand

Bombay

25th June 1930

Report

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FOLD-OUT
OR MAP
HERE!

PESHAWAR ENQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT

CHAPTER I

The personnel of our Committee and the terms of reference to it have been stated in the following resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress passed on the 14th May 1930 at Allahabad. "The Working Committee endorses the order of the Acting President appointing the Peshawar Enquiry Committee consisting of Mr. V. J. Patel as Chairman and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri, Sardar Sardulsingh Caveeshar, Lala Dunichand of Lahore and Dr. Syed Mahmud with power to coopt to inquire into and report on the happenings at Peshawar on the 23rd April, the events preceding and following those happenings constituting the causes and effects of those happenings and such other matters connected therewith as may arise in the course of the inquiry." The Acting President requested the Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province that the Committee be allowed to proceed to Peshawar to hold the inquiry without interference or obstruction and invited local officials to appear and lay their case before the Committee. A copy of that communication was sent to His Excellency the Viceroy. The Acting President was informed by the authorities that the Chairman and members of the Committee would not be allowed to enter the Frontier Province. The Working Committee of the Congress, therefore, requested the Chairman to select such other place outside the Frontier Province as he may consider suitable for the purpose of inquiry. The Chairman thereupon issued a press notification that the regular meetings of the Committee would be held at Rawalpindi on the 27th May 1930 and the following days and that those persons who desired to give evidence should appear before it accordingly and if possible submit their written statements to the Rawalpindi Congress Committee. Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri was arrested before the 27th and therefore could not join the Committee. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Syed Mahmud were also unable to join the Committee at Rawalpindi on the 27th. The remaining members of the Committee co-opted Maulana Kifayat Ullah, President of the All India Jamaiat-ul-Ulema and the Committee thus began its work with four members namely Mr. V. J. Patel, Chairman, Maulana Kifayat Ullah, Lala Duni Chand, and Sardar Sardul Singh. The Committee sat from day to day including Sunday from 12 noon till late in the evening. The examination of witnesses numbering 70 in all was finished by

the 4th June. All the four members of the Committee were present throughout the proceedings till the 3rd. On the night of the 3rd at 12-15 A.M. Sardar Sardul Singh was taken into custody by the Punjab Police and therefore on the 4th only three members were present.

Mr. Jivan Lal Kapur, Barrister-at-Law, represented the people of the Frontier Province throughout the inquiry. The Government having declined to co-operate with the Committee in any shape or form the Chairman thought it proper to appoint Diwan Daulatrai, a leading practitioner in that part of the country as amicus curiae with power to cross-examine witnesses, argue the case and make such suggestions as he thought proper in order to enable the Committee to find out the truth and reach correct conclusions. The Diwan was present throughout the inquiry and endeavoured to the best of his ability to put the Government point of view also before the Committee in so far as it was possible for him to do so in the circumstances.

In order that the Committee may have before it fully the point of view of Government we decided to bring on record the more important communiques issued by them from time to time and also the Press reports containing the summary of evidence recorded by the Sulaiman Committee which was appointed by Government to inquire into the happenings of the 23rd April at Peshawar and holding its sittings there on more or less identical dates. We have not before us the certified copies of statements made by witnesses before the Government Committee but we are convinced that under the conditions prevailing in the city of Peshawar and the strict censorship to which the Press reports of the events there were subjected, Government cannot question the accuracy of such reports as were allowed to be published in the press. We feel, therefore, that we have done all we can to bring on record the other side of the picture in order to enable us to appreciate the evidence as a whole and base our decisions thereon.

The Government Case

The Government have, from time to time, endeavoured to state their case in their communiques. Each subsequent communique has enlarged upon the case made in its predecessor and on the 6th May they have stated at some length and in greater detail "facts" of the incident as reported to them till then. Briefly stated, the case for Government according to the said communique is this. For several months past the Congress and the Naujavan Bharat Sabha had been endeavouring to produce unrest in the province by making preparations for Civil Disobedience and by exploitation of local grievances and also by disseminating communist doctrines in the villages of Peshawar district. The Government, therefore, issued warrants for the arrest of eleven leading men of the movement, nine of whom were arrested on the night

of 22nd April. The Deputy Commissioner was informed that the remaining two leaders who were arrested on the morning of the 23rd were forcibly rescued by a "mob" from police custody. He thereupon proceeded to the Kabuli Gate of the city accompanied by three armoured cars and was informed on the way that the two prisoners had surrendered. Proceeding further he was met by the Assistant Superintendent of Police who reported that a very violent crowd was near the Kabuli Gate and that the police were unable to deal with the situation and that he himself had been injured by a brickbat thrown by one of the crowd. The Deputy Commissioner then passed through the gate in an armoured car, the crowd giving away to the car but pelting at it brickbats and stones as it passed. On turning back he saw that the second armoured car was at a standstill with a despatch rider under the wheels. The man it was alleged, was knocked off his bicycle by a blow on the head dealt by a member of the crowd and the armoured car had then run over him. One or perhaps two members in the crowd had also been run over by the same car. The Deputy Commissioner in his endeavour to argue with these "rioters" was assaulted with stones and brickbats. The Military Officer belonging to the armoured car was attacked by a rioter who tried to remove his pistol from him. The Deputy Commissioner was knocked senseless by a brick thrown by one of the crowd and had to be carried inside the police station. The crowd set fire to an armoured car and one of the crew who attempted to take refuge in another car was attacked by a rioter with a crowbar and escaped only by firing a revolver. The Deputy Commissioner having regained consciousness authorised the troops to fire. Fire was opened and the "mob" immediately fled. Subsequently sporadic rioting occurred during the day at different places in the city and firing had to be resorted to but that it was restricted to the minimum and was well controlled.

The first shot was fired from a revolver by a member of the crew of an armoured car purely in self-defence when he was a victim of a murderous attack. The order for firing by the armoured car was given only after a British soldier had been killed and another car had been set on fire and the crew thereof was under heavy attack by rioters. The second occasion for firing by the machine gun was somewhat later, when a number of Garhwalis were injured by an attack with iron rails, axes, poles, and heavy bamboos, their commanding officer was struck in the face with a brick and the crowd had got among the troops and attempts were made to snatch their rifles away. Warning to the effect that fire would be opened unless the crowd withdrew was given. The death roll among the rioters is believed to be about twenty and in addition some thirty wounded received medical treatment in the Government and Mission hospitals. Some of the injured were unwilling to go to the hospital for treatment although an

assurance was given by the Chief Commissioner that those admitted to hospital would not be prosecuted for participation in the riot. Allowing for these cases the probable number of wounded was about sixty. On the 29th April and subsequent days the Peshawar Congress Committee issued posters and bulletins stating that they were in correspondence with the Haji of Turangzai who on their invitation was raising a laskhar with the intention of entering Peshawar district. The Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha were thus engaged in fomenting open rebellion against the Government and the Local Government have, therefore, declared them to be Unlawful Associations under the provisions of Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.

On the 4th May in the early hours of the morning the city was again occupied by troops and with their support the police arrested a large number of people and took possession of and searched the headquarters of the two Associations. The military in Peshawar were acting solely in support of the Civil Authorities and as soon as the Civil Authorities no longer required military support the troops would be withdrawn from the city.

The People's Case

We now proceed to state the case on behalf of the people as disclosed from the evidence of witnesses examined by us.

Since the days of the last non-co-operation movement in 1920-21 the people of the Frontier Province began to take interest in Congress Politics but the movement was then confined to big cities and had not touched the masses. Since a year however there has been a general awakening throughout the province and large masses of people have been stirred and are prepared to undergo any sufferings even to the extent of laying down their lives in the struggle for freedom for which the Congress stands. The doctrine of non-violence which is the basis of all activities underlying the Congress programme has caught the imagination of the people and worked a miracle and in spite of the most barbarous atrocities committed on unarmed aad unresisting men, women, and children by the military and the police, they have maintained the general spirit of non-violence, displayed cool courage and patient endurance of suffering to a degree which was never expected from a race so martial as the Pathans are and so proverbially excitable in temperament. This result has been attributed to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi who has a large number of very influential and prominent Pathan followers. The staunchest follower of Mahatma Gandhi is Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan who owns large properties in the Peshawar district and whose word is regarded as law by the masses. He wears Khaddar and puts on Gandhi Cap and his followers number several thousands. To supplement the activities of the Congress he has started an Association called Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God) the mem-

bership of which is estimated by some at a hundred thousand volunteers everyone of whom is pledged to strict non-violence. A large number of delegates and volunteers from the province attended the Lahore Congress and returned with a determination to carry on the work of the Congress with redoubled energy. New Congress Committees came into existence and old ones became more energetic. In all these activities the Government saw a serious menace to British rule and they decided upon a policy of destroying all the Congress Organizations root and branch in the province by every means in their power and simultaneously of striking a blow at the influence of Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

In pursuance of this policy a campaign of ruthless repression was started and the Authorities selected the Peshawar district as the first field for their operations in that behalf. On 5th April the local Congress Committee resolved to forthwith picket liquor shops in Peshawar city. Some of the liquor contractors requested the Congress Committee to grant them fifteen days' time to dispose of their stock. Thereupon on the 7th April the Congress Committee notified to the liquor contractors that picketing would commence on the 23rd April. On the morning of the 22nd April the All-India Congress Committee deputation that was proceeding to Peshawar to make inquiry into the working of the North-West Frontier Regulations was stopped at Attock and not allowed to enter the province. When this news was known in the city of Peshawar a large procession was taken out through the city and in the evening a huge mass meeting was held at Shahi Bagh to protest against the order of the Government and it was also decided at the meeting to start picketing of liquor shops from the morning of the 23rd. The Authorities arrested nine of the prominent members of the Congress in the early hours of the morning. At daybreak when people came to know of the arrest of these leaders they met in the Congress Committee office and learnt that warrants were out against two more leaders. The arrangements for picketing the liquor shops were being carried out. There was a spontaneous hartal all over the city. After 9 A.M. when people were standing in a crowd to give ovation to the volunteers who were being sent out on picketing duty, a Sub-Inspector of Police with armed constables came in a lorry to the Congress office and intimated that he had with him two more warrants. The two leaders on receiving this news came out of the office and sat in the lorry. After the lorry had proceeded a short distance one of its tyres got punctured and the Sub-Inspector was thinking of sending for another lorry when the arrested leaders told the Sub-Inspector that they would of their own accord present themselves in the Thana if he had no objection. The Sub-Inspector agreed to this and went away. The procession started with the leaders and reached the Kabuli Gate Thana. They found the gates of the Thana closed. For half an hour all endeavours to get the

gates opened were futile. The Assistant Superintendent of Police arrived on horseback when the people shouted national slogans. He got angry and left in a huff. In the meantime the Sub-Inspector who had arrested the leaders exhorted the people to remain non-violent and to disperse. The leaders went inside the Police Station and the crowd began to disperse with shouts of Inquilab Zindabad, (Long Live Revolution), Mahatma Gandhi ki jai, etc., etc. All of a sudden two or three armoured cars came at a great speed from behind without blowing the horn or giving any warning whatever of their approach and drove into the crowd regardless of consequences. Several people were run over of whom some were wounded and some killed on the spot. The people were not armed. They had nothing with them, no lathis, hatchets, stones, or bricks. In spite of such grave provocation the crowd behaved with great restraint collecting the wounded and dead persons. Some people went in front of the car and implored that the car should stop. As the crowd collected in front of the car the car was being reversed. At this time one Englishman came dashing on a motor cycle. The cycle collided with the armoured car and the Englishman fell down and was run over by the car. Fire was opened by someone from the car and it so happened that one of the cars accidentally caught fire. The Deputy Commissioner came out of his armoured car and when he was going into the Thana he fell down on the staircase of the Thana unconscious. In a minute he gained consciousness and ordered the crew of the armoured cars to open fire. As a result of this firing several people were killed and wounded and the crowd was pushed back some distance. At about half past eleven endeavours were made by one or two outsiders to pursuade the crowd on the one hand to disperse and the authorities on the other to remove the troops and the armoured cars. The crowd all along in spite of the provocation given to them by the authorities were willing to disperse if they were allowed to remove the dead and the injured and if the armoured cars and the troops were removed. The authorities on the other hand expressed their determination not to remove the armoured cars and the troops. The result was that the people did not disperse and were ready to receive the bullets and lay down their lives. The second firing then began and off and on lasted for more than three hours not only in the bazar but also in the bye-lanes. A large number of persons were killed and wounded. A rough estimate given by some witnesses is two to three hundred killed and many more wounded. Five or six Khilafat volunteers who were among those engaged in removing the dead and the wounded were also killed. Several corpses therefore could not be removed and were, it is alleged, taken in a lorry to some unknown destination and disposed off. The Khilafat volunteers and others were able to remove about sixty dead bodies mostly from bye-lanes to the Khilafat office. A large number of wounded also were taken

to that office and after dressing were sent by Dr. Khan Saheb to the Lady Reading Hospital. This facility also could be secured after great difficulty and with the help of Dr. Khan Saheb. Government had not provided any facilities even for first-aid to the wounded and had done everything in their power and had taken all precautions to minimize the extent of the havoc caused by the merciless firing. At about 6 in the evening the military raided the Congress Office and removed the Congress Flag, badges, etc. At night they removed two dead bodies which were brought late in the evening to the Khilafat Office and kept for the night at a Madrassa nearby. For the next two or three days Peshawar became a hell to live in owing to the atrocities of the British troops. All of a sudden the authorities on the night of the 25th removed not only the military but also the usual police which was protecting the city. The city was thus left at the mercy of the Trans-border raiders and plunderers. Congress and Khilafat volunteers came forward and bravely met the situation by guarding the gates of the city, and nothing untoward happened. On the night of the 28th the police again appeared and took charge from the volunteers. On the 4th May the military, all of a sudden, reoccupied the city. That morning they raided the Congress and Youth League offices, removed all papers, cash, etc., and mercilessly belaboured a large number of volunteers who were there and even looted a shop near the Congress office. From that day onward the city has been for all practical purposes under Martial Law. Life, liberty, or property of no one in Peshawar is safe. On the 31st May when the Sulaiman Committee was holding its inquiry in Peshawar the military opened fire without the slightest justification on people who were taking for burial dead bodies of two children alleged to have been shot by a British soldier by accident. As a result of this firing on the party at least ten people were killed and twenty-two wounded. It has all along been a reign of terror in Peshawar. The province has become a forbidden land to the outside world. To screen the ugly happenings from the public eye it is isolated from the rest of India and no public leader is allowed to step in there, see things for himself and expose the abuses of the administration. Methods no less atrocious are being pursued in other parts of the Peshawar district and also in other districts of the province where the Congress has influence. All the Congress Organizations, Youth Leagues, and allied Organisations have been declared illegal. In spite of all this the spirit of the people has remained unbroken and strict non-violence has been observed.

We hope we have fairly stated both sides of the case. We are aware that Government have from time to time elaborated their case in the press communiques but we have taken all material facts as stated by them in their somewhat lengthy communique issued two weeks after the occurence. We are also aware that

we have omitted certain incidents connected with the happenings of the 23rd April in the case of the people and we have not stated even in bare outline the happenings in other places in the province. From these omissions in our statement of the people's case it should not be understood that we do not attach much importance to the incidents narrated by the witnesses in that connection. We feel however that the report would be too bulky and the importance of its main features lost sight of were we to attempt to deal with them at any length. In this view we have decided to review the more important of these incidents very briefly in the course of our report. At the same time we are of opinion that any one who desires to fully understand and appreciate the implications of our findings should also read the evidence both oral and documentary upon which they are based.

Main Issues

We now proceed to consider the issues involved in our inquiry. The terms of reference to the Sulaiman Committee limit the scope of the enquiry to the happenings of 23rd April and the necessary measures taken by the authorities to deal with the situation on that day. The scope of our inquiry is much wider. But we propose for the sake of convenience to deal with and dispose of in the first place the main issues arising out of the happenings of 23rd April.

These issues, in our opinion, are:—

1. Whether in the situation that had arisen on the 23rd April at Peshawar firing by armoured cars and troops was justified.
2. Whether, in any case, the provisions of law and procedure were complied with before such firing.
3. Whether the situation could not have been dealt with otherwise than by the use of military force.
4. Whether the firing by the armoured cars and the military was restricted to the minimum.
5. What was the extent of the casualties?

Our decisions on these issues must necessarily depend upon the view we take of the evidence regarding the series of incidents constituting the whole case. We therefore propose to consider and discuss these incidents.

Before the Arrival of Armoured Cars

The case on behalf of the Government is that officials had heard:

(*a*) that the two leaders had been forcibly rescued by the crowd,

(*b*) that the crowd had injured the Assistant Superintendent of Police with a stone,

(*c*) that there had broken out a serious riot in the town and

(*d*) that the crowd was armed with lathis, crowbars, hatchets, sticks, etc., and was violent.

The case on behalf of the people, on the other hand, is that all these allegations are untrue and deliberately invented to justify the massacre of the innocent indulged in by the officials and in fact the crowd was absolutely non-violent and peacefully dispersing immediately after the two leaders were admitted into the Thana when all of a sudden without any warning the armoured cars rushed in.

The authorities have led no evidence before the Sulaiman Committee to prove their allegation that a riot had broken out at the Kabuli Gate and the police were unable to cope with the situation. In the communique dated the 23rd, 27th and 28th April (Ex. Y, Y|1, and Y|2) this allegation is mentioned as the main justification for taking the armoured cars to the gate and it seems surprising that the authorities should have practically abandoned this vital part of their case before the Sulaiman Committee. They have also failed to lead any evidence to prove that the crowd had forcibly rescued the two leaders or that the Assistant Superintendent of Police was hurt with a stone from the crowd. On the contrary the evidence before the Sulaiman Committee discloses that these allegations are untrue as we will presently show. The authorities have made some endeavour to prove the remaining allegation namely that the crowd was armed with sticks, lathis, etc., but here, too, several important witnesses before the Sulaiman Committee have deposed that the people were peaceful and that they had no arms and were dispersing peacefully immediately after the leaders were admitted into the Thana.

A large number of witnesses have testified before us that every one of these allegations is untrue. This is what witness No. 18 Abdul Karim has stated.

"At about 8 Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Bux Barki had just come to the office when two lorries with armed police arrived and stopped under the office. The leaders who were to be arrested surrendered themselves to the police. The lorry in which they were placed started for the Kutchery Gate but got punctured when it had gone a short distance. The police took down the leaders and marched them off towards "A" Division Thana. People followed them. I also accompanied them. When they reached the last step of the Thana at Kabuli Gate the door of the Thana was closed. The leaders stopped outside the gate. At that time the crowd numbered between 15 and 16 hundred. Sethi asked the people to disperse and also exhorted them to remain peaceful and to work for the Congress programme. The people refused to go away till the leaders were taken into the Thana. Meanwhile the Superintendent of Police arrived and ordered the people to disperse to which the people replied that they would go away when the leaders were taken into the Thana. He knocked at the gate of the Thana but it was not opened and he returned. Ten minutes later the wicket gate was opened and the leaders went in, and it was closed

upon which shouts of Inquilab Zindabad were raised. The people never attempted to rescue the leaders and began to disperse peacefully. While the people were dispersing an armoured car entered the gate at a great speed without any warning."

He has further stated:—

"People had nothing in their hands. They had no sticks, or axes, etc. I did not even see pen or pencil in the hands of the people."

Witnesses Nos. 7, 8, 10, 22, 32, 34, 62, 64 and others have corroborated this witness in all the essential particulars. This part of the people's case finds further corroboration in the evidence led before the Sulaiman Committee. The City Magistrate, Sadulla Khan, is reported to have stated that the crowd before the Thana was "perfectly non-violent" before the armoured cars arrived and the crowd had no sticks or other arms and that it was melting away. Abdul Hamid Khan has stated that at the time the leaders entered the Chowki some of the crowd dispersed, that a body of police entered the city and that a police officer came and got back after sometime. Ghulam Mahamad has stated that after the leaders went into the Chowki many people left the crowd after a few minutes. The City Magistrate has further stated that he repeatedly warned the authorities against the employment of the Military, that he did not see the Assistant Superintendent of Police was pelted with stones and that he informed the Deputy Commissioner not to be prejudiced by the statements of the Assistant Superintendent of Police and that there was no need of military. Diwan Dina Nath, a barrister has stated that at the time the two leaders were at the Police Chowki the Assistant Superintendent arrived and left and he was positive that no brickbats were thrown at him. Allauddin Shah, the Sub-Inspector of Police who arrested the two leaders has stated that he allowed the accused to accompany the crowd to the police station on their giving him word that they would wait for him at the Kabuli Gate Thana which they did. Mr. Fookes, the Superintendent of Police, has stated that the trouble originated in the arrest of two Congress leaders and that he was informed by the police escorting the accused that they had been mobbed and the arrested persons released and he has further stated that subsequently Mr. Sadulla Khan, the City Magistrate, had told the Deputy Commissioner on the telephone that the leaders had surrendered and the crowd dispersed and that there was no need for reinforcement.

It appears that the police escort alleged to have been mobbed or any person on whose information the Assistant and Deputy Commissioner thought it advisable to rush to the city with armoured cars have not been examined before the Sulaiman Committee. It is significant that not a single person has appeared before the Sulaiman Committee to say that he was hurt by any of the implements with which the crowd was alleged to have been

armed. It is also to be noted that in the press communiques of the 23rd, 27th and 28th April, the allegation that the crowd was armed does not find a place. Two weeks after the occurrence the press communique of the 6th May, for the first time, mentions that one of the crowd was armed with an axe and many of its members were armed with bricks and this contradicts the allegation that the people were armed with all sorts of implements. It was when the Punjab Government pointed out to the Government of India that very bad effect was being caused by the rumour that machine guns were used to disperse the crowd that a further communique (Ex. Y5) was issued in which it was stated that the crowd was armed with iron rails, axes, poles and heavy bamboo. It seems to us, therefore, that the allegation was an after thought invented for the purpose of removing the bad effect caused by the use of the machine gun.

A very strong proof of the crowd being unarmed would be found in the conduct of the two platoons of Garhwalis which refused to fire when ordered to. The Garhwali soldier is generally regarded to be loyal and the sole ground on which these platoons refused to fire was that the people at whom they were asked to level their rifles were unarmed and peaceful (vide witnesses Nos. 18, 19 and 26). Equally striking proof is contained in Ex. T and U which are photographs taken after the first firing on the 23rd April showing the unarmed crowd facing the armoured cars, the British troops and the Garhwalis. Witness No. 55 states:—

"In the photographs none of the crowd appears to possess a stick, a lathi or an axe. And in fact they did not have any such weapons."

Witness No. 62 has stated:—

"When I reached Kissa Khanni the state of things at the place of occurrence was the same as appearing in the photographs. People who appear as standing in the photograph had nothing with them; sticks, axes, or any other weapon in their hands. At the time I saw these people with my own eyes they had no weapons or anything of that kind in their hands. The soldiers had rifles with bayonets fixed which were pointing towards the people."

On a consideration of the whole evidence, therefore, we have no difficulty whatever in finding:—

(1) that there was no outbreak of riot at the Kabuli Gate on the morning of the 23rd April,

(2) that the two leaders were not rescued by the people from police custody,

(3) that the Assistant Superintendent of Police was not hurt by a stone from the crowd,

(4) that the people had no arms such as lathis, sticks, etc., and

(5) that they were absolutely non-violent and were dispersing when the leaders were admitted into the Thana.

Arrival of Armoured Cars and After

At this moment, that is, when the Congress leaders were taken into the Thana and the crowd had commenced peacefully to disperse with shouts of national slogans, the first of the three or four armoured cars came running at a great speed without blowing the horn or giving any warning and rushed into the crowd opposite the Kabuli Gate Police Station and crushed under its wheels 12 or 14 persons instantaneously, killed six or seven and seriously injured the rest. The crowd naturally raised an alarm in protest. Witnesses Nos. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 18, 24 and 26, who were present on the scene all corroborate this in unequivocal language. This tragic incident has not been mentioned in any of the communiques of the 23rd, 27th and 28th April. The local representative of the Associated Press who has been examined before us (vide witness No. 62) states that in his first telegram about the happenings of the 23rd April, he had mentioned this particular incident but when the telegram appeared in the press it was found that the portion referring to the incident was not there. In the opinion of the witness the telegram was interfered with by the censor. Two weeks after the occurrence when the news about the incident had leaked out in other parts of India the Government of India for the first time in their communique dated the 6th May casually stated that an armoured car in the confusion had also run over one or perhaps two persons in the crowd. *Mark the words one or perhaps two.* Apart from the evidence of a large number of eye witnesses which in our opinion is conclusive that 12 to 14 persons were the victims of this outrage the evidence before the Sulaiman Committee materially supports the case of the people in regard to this incident. The Sub-Inspector, Allauddin Shah, has stated that he saw armoured cars coming into the city, the first of which ran over and crushed five Indians. Major Dimond, the Civil Surgeon, had deposed that out of patients admitted in hospital five or six persons were such as could have been run over by armoured car. Mr. Himmat Ali, reader in the court of the Hon. Magistrate, has stated that he heard shouts that armoured cars had come in and that several people had been run over by them. Mr. Ramchandra has stated that the armoured car entered the city gates and although it gave no hooter people at the sight of it began to run sideways. He has further stated that as the car passed on some people followed it and suddenly a second armoured car entered the city at a high speed without blowing the hooter and rushed on with the result that four persons including himself were run over. Mr. Juma Khan has stated that the second car had knocked down five people including himself. Mr. Syed Akbar has stated that as he was passing along the road an armoured car from behind knocked him down running over his body. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Government Contractor, has stated that an armoured car

entered at a high speed taking the people unawares, trampled some, threw back others and then stopped at some distance. Diwan Dina Nath has stated that he heard a shout that people were trampled. Mr. Fookes, the Senior Superintendent of Police has stated that he saw two Peshawaris under the second armoured car in such a position as if the front wheels of the car had gone over them. Mr. Sadulla Khan, the City Magistrate, stated that he saw three armoured cars and bodies of two Indians lying on the road. It is interesting to note here that Captain King of the Royal Tank Corps in charge of the First Armoured Car Company has stated in answer to a question by Mr. Justice Pankridge that the cars under orders had to be moving forward in spite of the crowd standing in front of them. In face of such overwhelming evidence in regard to the incident Mr. Metcalfe, the Deputy Commissioner, who was responsible for taking the armoured cars in the city maintains before the Sulaiman Committee that he was certain that no one was injured by the car as it went exceedingly slowly, constantly using the hooter, stopping when the passage was impossible and the crowd made way owing to the moral effect of the armoured cars! It is therefore not surprising that the first three press notes are silent about this incident and the press note of the 6th May treats this incident as of no consequence.

It cannot be and indeed it has not been contended that the armoured cars were brought to the Kabuli Gate merely as a precautionary measure, for if that were so, they would have been kept at a safe distance and taken to the spot if and when the need for their use had arisen. The speed at which they were driven and the manner in which they were rushed into the crowd killing and wounding several people militate against any such supposition. The testimony of all the eye witnesses who appeared before us as also that of the City Magistrate Sadullah Khan and some other witnesses before the Sulaiman Committee, has convinced us that if the Deputy Commissioner had not brought the armoured cars and rushed them through the crowd the people would have dispersed as indeed they had already begun to disperse and nothing further would have happened. Even Major Sandilands, Commanding Peshawar Brigade, in his evidence before the Sulaiman Committee has admitted that the armoured cars were brought to the Kabuli Gate without a proper consideration of the situation.

The evidence in regard to this incident is so overwhelming and so conclusive that we have no doubt whatsoever

(*a*) that the Deputy Commissioner at about 10-30 A.M. on 23rd April rushed from the Cantonment to the city with three or four armoured cars and without warning took the crowd unawares, with the result that the wheels of one or two armoured cars crushed about 12 to 14 persons, six or seven of whom were instantaneously killed and the remaining seriously injured,

(*b*) that every endeavour had been made and step taken to prevent this incident being known to the outside public and perhaps also to the higher authorities,

(*c*) that the armoured cars were taken to the gate by the Deputy Commissioner in spite of the advice of the City Magistrate who was on the spot that the crowd was non-violent, unarmed and had begun to disperse and there was no necessity for reinforcements,

(*d*) that the Deputy Commissioner took the armoured cars to the Kabuli Gate not as a precautionary measure but deliberately to create a moral effect and to strike terror,

(*e*) that if the armoured cars had not been brought and rushed into the crowd regardless of consequences the subsequent tragic events of the day would not have happened.

The Fate of the Despatch Rider

Witnesses who appeared before us have emphatically asserted that a European Despatch Rider followed the first armoured car at a high speed on a motor cycle and the rider collided with the car whilst it was being reversed after crushing several people with the result that he fell down and was also crushed under it. Witness No. 3, Pir Baksh gives the following account of the incident:—

"Suddenly an armoured car entered at great speed. Without warning it rushed into the crowd whereby about fourteen persons were crushed. Then the car was reversed. I saw a motor cycle collide with the car. The cyclist fell down and was crushed under the car. I saw him fall. I did not see anybody hitting the cyclist. I was standing closeby. If any one had attacked him I could have seen it. People had gathered by chance and they had no hatchets, etc., with them."

Witness No. 18 Abdul Karim has stated:—

"Nobody pushed the motor cycle rider nor did they fell him to the ground. He was run over by the car with which he collided." "He died under the armoured car. There were two armoured cars and the person on the motor cycle was in between them. The first armoured car got back as the people cried that people were run over and therefore the car reversed. The motor cyclist collided with the armoured car and was run over. He did not strike against the second armoured car. He struck against the first car. When it reversed owing to the shouts of the people, it collided with the motor cycle and the cyclist fell down. He was a European."

This version has been corroborated by witnesses Nos. 8, 10, and 14. Some doubt has been thrown on this version by witness No. 26, Maulvi Mohammad Hussan who has stated:—

"The people were however going away in a peaceful manner. All at once three armoured cars rushed in. The armoured cars

came in without any warning and ran over several people and five or six men were crushed under the cars, skulls of some were crushed, while the legs of others were torn away from the body. The armoured car was stopped by the people having been crushed under the wheels. The second armoured car collided with the one in the front. A Gora (British soldier) was riding on a motor cycle behind the first car. On account of the two cars colliding the Gora fell down and was crushed under the second armoured car."

The evidence before the Sulaiman Committee on the point is similarly conflicting. Mr. Fookes, the Senior Superintendent of Police has stated that he saw a Despatch Rider lying under the first armoured car while some other witnesses have stated that the second armoured car came in and ran over this rider. Be that as it may, the fact remains that it is common ground that the Despatch Rider was lying crushed under one of the armoured cars. The authorities have nowhere contended that the Despatch Rider was killed by the "mob", but a suggestion seems to have been put forward that he was knocked off his bicycle by a blow on the head dealt by a member of the crowd and that an armoured car had then run over him. This suggestion is to be found for the first time two weeks after the occurrence in the press note of the 6th May where it is stated "the man, it is alleged, had been knocked off his bicycle by a blow." It is therefore clear that up to the date of the press note the authorities were not prepared to make any definite assertion in this behalf, and no serious endeavour has been made to support this suggestion contained in the press note by any independent evidence before the Sulaiman Committee. Such meagre evidence as has been adduced is conflicting. Lieut. Singe stating that he saw one man knocking down the rider by a blow with an axe and the Sub-Inspector of Police Mr. Allauddin Shah saying that the rider fell down as a result of collision with the first car. It is significant to note here that Captain Short has stated that he saw the body of the soldier and the motor cycle under one of the armoured cars. It seems to us clear in the circumstances that this attempt on the part of the authorities to support the suggestion made in the press note two weeks after the occurrence has entirely failed.

We therefore find that the Despatch Rider was not hit or killed by any member of the crowd but was run over by one of the armoured cars after he fell down by collision.

An Armoured Car on Fire

As in regard to some other important incidents the Government communiques of the 23rd, 27th and 28th April are silent in regard to this incident also. The press communique of the 6th May definitely connects the crowd with this incident and states that the crowd attacked the armoured cars and set fire to one of

them thus forcing the crew to descend. It is indeed very difficult to believe that any unarmed men could deliberately go so near an armoured car and also set fire to it knowing full well that other armoured cars which were there would immediately kill them on the spot by opening fire. And it is equally incredible that so many officials and policemen would look on and allow the car to be set on fire in broad daylight without taking steps to prevent it. The official evidence to prove the allegation is far from satisfactory. The Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Cobb, has stated that the crowd getting tow and oil ignited one of the armoured cars with the body of the despatch rider, while Captain Short has stated that he saw the crowd piling something under the armoured car and ultimately setting fire to it. No explanation is forthcoming why any of these two officers or the occupants of the armoured cars took no steps to prevent the crowd from setting fire to it. If the crowd had really set fire to the armoured car in the manner described by these two witnesses a large number of people on the side of the Government as well as other independent persons would have noticed the incident. And yet the authorities have not been able to produce before the Sulaiman Committee any other independent witness in support of this allegation. Setting fire to the car by the crowd is mentioned as one of the main reasons for opening fire and yet strange to say the first three communiques make no reference to the incident, although incidents such as "injuries' to the Assistant Superintendent of Police and Deputy Commissioner have been mentioned. On the other hand a large number of witnesses who appeared before us have deposed that they saw no one setting fire to the armoured car. Witness No. 18, Abdul Karim has stated:—

"I saw that no one from the crowd set fire to the car. They were busy in removing the dead and injured. When the car caught fire four British soldiers came out of the car and fled. Upon this the second car began to fire and advance."

Q. How did the armoured car catch fire?

A. It caught fire of itself. After the firing I cannot say if it caught fire by the bursting of the tank or how but I can say that there was no fire near by, nor did any one bring rags or fire. When the firing was going on no one was near the car. The car caught fire after the firing had commenced. It caught fire by itself. When the flames came up four British soldiers (Goras) came out."

This testimony has been fully corroborated by witnesses Nos. 3, 7, 19, 26 and others.

On a consideration of the whole evidence we are of opinion that the allegation that the crowd set fire to the armoured car is not true and seems to be an after-thought intended to serve as a cover for the unjustifiable firing on the crowd by the authorities.

Stone Throwing by the Crowd

We have already held that the crowd was unarmed, unresisting and non-violent when the armoured cars arrived. We have also found that the allegation that the Assistant Superintendent of Police was hurt by a brickbat from the crowd is untrue. We now deal with the official version that the crowd showered brickbats and stones on an extensive scale and one of such stones hit the Deputy Commissioner as a result of which he became unconscious. Several witnesses have stated before us that the crowd did not indulge in any stone throwing and that it was absolutely peaceful throughout (vide witnesses Nos. 7, 8, 10, 29, 32, 38 and 64). They further state that the main road has been very well paved and that it was not under repairs then and that no heap of stones was therefore anywhere near by. Some witnesses however have stated that several people in the crowd on seeing twelve or fourteen persons killed and injured by the rushing in of the armoured car without warning were excited and got hold of such small pieces of stones and pebbles as they could lay their hands on and began throwing them on the armoured car, (vide witnesses Nos. 3, 14, 18, 35 and 45). We accept this version and reject the official story that the crowd showered brickbats and stones on any extensive scale. One of the witnesses before us (No. 40) has stated that the Deputy Commissioner fell down unconscious on the steps of the Thana. Putting the two versions together namely that some stone throwing was indulged in by the crowd and that the Deputy Commissioner fell down unconscious and having regard to the evidence on this point before the Sulaiman Committee we hold that the Deputy Commissioner was hit by a piece of stone from the crowd. We desire, however, to point out that there is a large body of evidence before us that when the stone-throwing commenced responsible members of the crowd exhorted the people to remain non-violent whereupon stone throwing ceased and such stone-throwing as took place was the result of the grave provocation given by the authorities in killing and injuring several people in the crowd by driving the armoured car through it.

On a consideration of the evidence as a whole on this point we are satisfied that the Deputy Commissioner was hit by a piece of stone thrown by some member of the crowd.

Conclusions on Incidents

Before we come to the subject of firing we summarise below our conclusions on the main incidents already discussed.

(1) There was no outbreak of riot at the Kabuli Gate on the morning of the 23rd April.

(2) The two leaders were not rescued by the people from the police custody.

(3) The Assistant Superintendent of Police was not hurt by

a stone from the crowd.

(5) The people were absolutely non-violent and were dispersing when the leaders were admitted into the Thana.

(4) The people had no arms such as lathis, sticks, etc.

(6) The Deputy Commissioner at about 10-30 A.M., on the 23rd April when the people had begun to disperse rushed with three or four armoured cars from the Cantonment to the City and without warning took the people unawares with the result that the wheels of one or two armoured cars crushed about twelve to fourteen persons, six or seven of whom were instantaneously killed and the remaining seriously injured.

(7) Every endeavour had been made and step taken to prevent the above incident being known to the outside public and perhaps to the higher authorities.

(8) That the armoured cars were taken to the gate by the Deputy Commissioner in spite of the advice of the city magistrate who was on the spot, that the crowd was non-violent unarmed and had begun to disperse and there was no necessity for reinforcements.

(9) That the Deputy Commissioner took the armoured cars to the Kabuli Gate not as a precautionary measure but deliberately to create an impression and to strike terror.

(10) If the armoured cars had not been brought and rushed into the crowd regardless of consequences, subsequent tragic events of the day would not have happened.

(11) The Despatch Rider was not hit or killed by any member of the crowd but was run over by one of the armoured cars after he fell down by collision.

(12) The allegation that the crowd set fire to the armoured car is not true and seems to be an after thought intended to serve as a cover for the unjustifiable firing by the authorities and

(13) The Deputy Commissioner was hit by a piece of stone thrown by some member of the crowd.

Firing

Apart from the first shot said to have been fired in self-defence from a revolver by one of the crew of an armoured car, it is common ground that firing was resorted to on two occasions—once between 10-30 to 12 in the morning and again from 1-30 to 5 P.M. off and on. It has been alleged that on the first occasion armoured car was alone used for firing. The impression left on our minds on hearing the witnesses who gave evidence before us is that besides firing by the armoured car, troops also simultaneously fired. This point however is not very material. The second firing which was on a more extensive scale and much longer in duration was both by the armoured cars and the troops.

A—First Firing

This took place near the Kabuli Gate whilst the crowd was engaged in removing the killed and injured crushed under the armoured car. The crowd was at once pushed back some distance inside the Kissa Khani Bazar and was thus rendered unable to remove all the dead and wounded to which further numbers were added as a result of the firing. It is difficult to ascertain separately the extent of casualties caused by the first firing.

The official communique tries to make out that the firing started after the "mob" had done to death the European Despatch Rider, hit the Deputy Commissioner with a stone, also an occupant of the armoured car as he came out of his car (who had to defend himself by using his revolver) and set fire to the armoured car with a view to burning alive the occupants. In view of our clear findings on these incidents we regret we are unable to accept the alleged justification for firing. True, we have not recorded any separate finding regarding the allegation that one of the crew was so attacked that he had to defend himself by using his revolver but the evidence before us is clear and emphatic that the allegation is untrue. The burden of proof lies on the party who pleads self-defence and we understand that even the particular crew has not been examined before the Sulaiman Committee. One other matter to which we would like to make a passing reference is that the sequence of events leading to the first firing in the case for Government is not borne out by the evidence before us. All our witnesses are unanimous in ascertaining that the first rounds were fired before one of the armoured cars had caught fire. The alleged justification for firing would lose much of its force if this sequence of happenings is accepted and we have no hesitation in saying that we accept it. In any case this point is not so material in view of our finding that no connection has been established between the so-called violence of the "mob" and the burning of the car.

The only incident which we hold has been proved is that some irresponsible members of the crowd threw stray stones, etc., one of which struck the Deputy Commissioner and caused him an injury but this by itself cannot be any justification for the firing from the armoured car. The fact in our opinion is that the Deputy Commissioner had perpetrated a most shocking piece of inhumanity on the crowd by rushing an armoured car through them and thereby killing and injuring several persons and he perhaps saw no escape out of it except by giving the happenings of the 23rd April the form of a serious riot and painting the crowd in the blackest possible colour. It seems to us clear that the Deputy Commissioner had used this little incident of an injury to him as an occasion for ordering the armoured car to open fire.

B—Second Firing

The second firing took place in the Kissa Khanni Bazaar near Dhaki Nalbandi. After the first firing, endeavour was made by some of the onlookers for conciliation. Hakim Abdul Jalil Khan a prominent citizen of Peshawar and some others intervened and pleaded and argued with a view to avoid further disaster. The Hakim is a respectable citizen and it appears he commands respect both of the people and the authorities. He has been prominently associated with the nationalist movement in the Frontier Province during the last decade or so, though for the past two years he has been less active. He says the authorities also appreciated his efforts for keeping the atmosphere peaceful and perhaps that was one reason why he has not been thrown into prison. He had information—obviously from official sources—about the impending arrests on the 22nd. On the 23rd morning, he learnt that the arrests had been effected, so he hastened to interview his friends including Syed Lal Badshah in the jail. Whilst he was in the jail he heard that armoured cars and troops had entered the city. Arriving in the Kissa Khanni Bazaar the Hakim found a peaceful crowd (provoked though it was) entirely unarmed confronted by military force. He learnt that some people had been run over and that some had been shot down too. The armoured car had already caught fire and the fire engine had appeared on the scene. As he was known fairly well to the authorities he spoke to some of them. He was permitted to use the fire engine as a platform for addressing the crowd. He conveyed to them the message he had brought from the leaders in jail and asked the people to remain non-violent to the bitter end. According to his statement the people were willing to disperse even at that stage if they were permitted to remove the dead and the wounded, and the armoured cars and troops were withdrawn. Hakim Abdul Jalil says he warned the authorities that it would be a grave mistake to fire upon the crowd which he suggested could be easily dispersed by means of the water hose. If this failed (the Hakim went on to suggest) as a matter of extreme necessity they could charge the crowd with lathis but there was no case whatever for firing. The Magistrate to whom he was speaking was none other than Mr. Isemonger, the Inspector-General of Police, to whom Mr. Cobb, the Assistant Commissioner, had handed over charge after the first firing. Mr. Isemonger replied "we have decided upon our arrangements and must proceed with them." Some days later the Hakim had occasion to refer to his suggestion regarding the water hose in an informal talk with the Assistant Superintendent of Police, and he was told that the hose had been cut. The Hakim promptly replied that it could easily have been replaced even if it had been cut. Indeed such a frivolous objection in such a serious matter was itself nothing shout of a crime.

The Hakim's efforts having failed he went home. Soon after

the second firing started the description of which as given by witnesses can be summarised thus:—

The firing went on in the same reckless manner in which the armoured cars had rushed through the crowd. It seems hardly necessary to show that the firing was altogether indiscriminate, for there is no serious claim to the contrary by those who were directly responsible for it. The position of the military authorities seems to be clear that once they were asked to open fire they went ahead with their business. If the thing was worth doing it was worth doing well. It was none of their business to find out who was innocent and who was not nor could they pause to respect distinctions of age or sex. Some women and children are said to have become victims of their bullets. If more women and children were not killed the reason was that there were not many in the crowd to be killed. But not only was no care taken to discriminate, on the other hand good care was taken to see that the job was done thoroughly well. We have been assured by trustworthy witnesses that it was not only the crowd in the bazaar that was fired at, but people looking on from balconies were also shot at and the range of firing included side streets and bye-lanes. We have been told by witnesses that a large number of bullet marks are still visible in the balconies. Much has been made of the "barricade" erected by the people to show that the "mob" had adopted an aggressive attitude. The barricade in this case, the evidence shows, was merely defensive and was not a preparation for aggression. And what barricade could the people erect when exposed to the volley of bullets in the Kissa Khanni Bazaar. Empty packing cases lying outside some shops were all they could lay their hands on. This packing case barricade may show that there were people in the crowd who had not lost their presence of mind, but it certainly does not prove that violence was being committed by them.

The firing started after 1 o'clock and with intervals—filled by exercises in bayonetting, in which people taking shelter beneath shop-front planks were hunted out—continued till about 5 in the afternoon. It would be a miracle, therefore, if the number of casualties remained as low as the official versions would make it out to be. But we shall discuss this point a little later. First let us give some further details about the firing.

Evidence before us shows that at least some of those run over by the armoured cars were at first allowed to be removed without let or hindrance. But later even volunteers engaged in this work were fired upon and five or six Khilafat volunteers were shot dead (vide witnesses Nos. 21, 22 and 35). Not even those belonging to the Scout Association were permitted to do this work. Thenceforward the volunteers had to confine their humanitarian work to the bye-lanes. Another feature about the attitude of the military towards volunteers engaged in removing the dead and the injured

is the arrest of some members of the Seva Samiti Scout organization in the afternoon by the British soldiers who raided the Congress Office. Members of this organization giving evidence before us have told us that they had assured the officers that they were merely engaged in humanitarian work. Mr. A. C. Bamwal (witness No. 62) till recently representative of the Associated Press of India at Peshawar confirms this. He was himself present on the occasion as a pressman.

We have before us evidence of the refusal by two Garhwali platoons to fire upon an unarmed gathering. There is also evidence to show that the refusal was not confined to the Garhwalis. Two witnesses (Nos. 21 and 26) say that a Sowar was ordered by his officer to fire but on his refusal to do so he was shot at by the officer. The Sowar escaped but his horse was killed. Corroboration of this story is forthcoming so far as the dead horse with bullet wound is concerned. (Vide witnesses Nos. 18, 29, 38 and 55).

When a tragedy on such a scale is enacted there is no meaning in saying that the firing was restored to merely to disperse a rowdy gathering. The official versions do not try to make out that mere buckshot was used. All our witnesses who have anything to say on this point speak only of bullets. It would not be out of place to quote here a few relevant passages from the statements of some witnesses.

Witness No. 38 Syed Amir Badshah, President of the Zamindar's Association in Peshawar, has described the second firing in the following words:—

"All of us went to Kissa Khanni Bazaar. A horse was lying dead having been hit by a bullet. Three armoured cars were standing in a row in the Kissa Khanni and one of them was on fire in front of the Kabuli Gate police station. When we reached Kissa Khanni the firing had ceased and some persons were standing there and trying to remove the dead and the wounded, meanwhile a fire engine was brought there with a view to extinguish the fire in the armoured car and started its work. The people were collected there in large numbers. In the meantime some twenty to twenty-four armed British soldiers came and stood in front of the armoured car facing the people and the same number of armed Garhwalis stood on one side. The mounted police also arrived. The people were dismayed and were trying to remove the dead and the wounded when an officer ordered a bayonet charge against them. To save themselves, the people tried to remove the dead and the wounded behind the cover of wooden boxes that they had brought from the shops and used these boxes and wooden planks as a shield against the bayonet charge. They continued raising national slogans despite this official violence which they bore peacefully and patiently. The Kissa Khanni Bazaar appeared a veritable field of slaughter. I with my comrades, Mohammad Akram Khan

and others, fully witnessed the orgy of this wholesale slaughter from the upper storey of the house of Abdul Rauf, pleader. Every thing was clear to our view. Every one sighted in the streets and bye-lanes of the Kissa Khanni was indiscriminately fired at and the soldiers moved on. Every one who appeared in the balconies or roofs was shot at. Therefore we closed the doors of our upper flats as did the others, and lay hiding inside. At every bye-lane were posted three or four British soldiers for firing at the people. The firing continued from 1-15 to 4 P.M., and from 4 to 5 P.M., occasional firing was heard. The firing at the roofs and balconies was resorted to in order to secretly remove the dead bodies. A large number of dead bodies was taken in closed lorries and disposed of at some unknown place. I was peeping through a hole on hearing the noise of the lorries. I saw the dead bodies being packed in lorries. I had seen three such lorries."

Muhammad Akram Khan (witness No. 40) a member of the Zamindars' Association states:—"After some time British soldiers with the Inspector-General of Police came and stood in front of the first armoured car just where the people were removing the dead and the injured. This English officer ordered the British soldiers to charge the people with bayonets. The people worked behind the shelter of wooden boxes and planks and removed the injured and the dead while being thus charged. The same officer ordered firing, and consequently many people were killed. I ran towards Abdul Rauf pleader's balcony, Syed Amir Badshah and Sanobar Hussain accompanied me and we went up the balcony and saw the general slaughter. British soldiers proceeded to fire on the balconies and the streets. We closed the doors but witnessed all this scene through a hole. At about 2-30 P.M., the noise of the lorries was heard. From a hole we saw the closed lorries and the British soldiers at different places who were collecting the dead bodies and were placing them in the lorries. After this I went on the 3rd storey and when I just had a peep I saw that the road was being flooded with water by a fire brigade and blood marks were being washed away. While I was observing this, a bullet passed just above my head and I came down. The firing was going on till 4 P.M. Between 4 and 5 firing went on at intervals."

Witness No. 18 Abdul Karim has stated:—"People were falling back and were running into side lanes for safety but they were pursued by British soldiers who continued firing. From the Kissa Khanni Bazaar people were fired at upto 200 to 300 feet in the lanes and many people fell victims to the bullets. Wherever a person appeared he was indiscriminately fired upon. Even balakhanas were not exempted from this fire. Even people who tried to remove their dead and wounded were fired upon. I saw that no arrangements were made to give medical aid to the people. If this had been done then many lives would have been saved."

Witness No. 3 Pir Baksh has stated:—"When the British troops

began firing the people made a barricade with wooden boxes and other things. People were trying to remove the dead and the wounded and at this time they were hit by bullets. People began to disperse through streets and side lanes, but the British troops showered bullets on them in all directions. British troops were firing indiscriminately. They shot down any one in sight. Government used this violence only to suppress the movement."

This evidence is corroborated in essential particulars by several other witnesses.

In face of such strong evidence and having regard to our findings on the more important incidents constituting the whole story we are unable to accept the official version that the second firing was resorted to when an attack with iron rails, axes, poles, and heavy bamboos was being made by the mob, a number of Garhwalis were injured and their commanding officer was struck in the face with a brick and the crowd had got among the troops and attempts were being made to snatch their rifles away. As we have already observed in the previous part of our report this excuse for the second firing was not put forward even in the lengthy communique issued by the Government of India on the 6th of May. But when the Punjab Government complained that bad effect was caused by rumour that there was firing by machine guns that the Government of India issued a further communique putting forward this justification for the second firing. The plea that the crowd attacked and caused hurt to a large number of Garhwalis is absurd on the face of it when we remember that Garhwali platoons had refused to fire on the crowd because the crowd was peaceful, unarmed, and unresisting. Exhibits T and U which are photographs taken after the first firing was over but before the second commenced prove if any further proof were needed that the crowd was unarmed at the time. This is what Hakim Abdul Jalil (witness No. 55 has stated in this connection.

"Q. Just see Ex. T and U and state whether it faithfully represents the condition of the bazaar when you went there.

A. The state of affairs presented in the two photographs is exactly as I actually saw on the spot on the 23rd April on my arrival there at 11-30 A.M. This is a correct and precisely exact photograph of the spot. I do not know who took the photographs. I have not seen this photograph before; but I had heard that photographs had been taken on the spot. Photo Ex. T has been taken from close quarters which represents the state of things from the place of occurrence to the Kabuli Gate. Photograph Ex. U has been taken from a short distance which prominently shows the condition of the crowd. The photograph taken from close quarters shows the arrival of the Garhwalis and the British troops arranged in front of the Tinsmith's corner. The photograph also shows 5 armoured cars. The last one is probably the same from which smoke was issuing. The photo taken from a distance shows

Mr. Isemonger, Inspector-General of Police, standing amongst the crowd in front of the Garhwalis. I actually saw him then in the same position when I was trying to arrange a compromise. In the photos none of the crowd appears to possess a stick, a lathi or an axe and in fact they did not have any such weapons.

"When I saw the Garhwalis arriving, their rifles were without bayonets but the rifles of the British troops had fixed bayonets. In this photo also the rifles of the Garhwalis are without bayonets. Before the Garhwalis' arrival the British soldiers stood in a line on one side i.e., on the side of the Tinsmiths Bazaar and on the other side i.e., on the side of Dhaki Nalbandi there were standing some policemen. And Mr. Isemonger was standing on the same side. In this picture Ex. U too, Mr. Isemonger was standing on the same side but in the place where the police stood Mr. Garber is standing. Mr. Garber arrived in my presence. The first balcony in Ex. T on which a board is fixed and on the back of which a poster of some cigarette company is pasted, belongs to Mr. Radha Kishan, Vakil, President, City Congress Committee and Vice-President, Provincial Congress Committee. Mr. Radha Kishan is under arrest. In this picture Ex. U the board which is seen hanging is of Omania Press which is situated in Dhaki Nalbandi; it was previously known as Sharifi Press. The motor car which is seen standing near the first armoured car in Ex. U in front of which Garhwalis are standing is a fire brigade engine which was requisitioned for extinguishing the fire in the armoured car. I had conveyed the message of Agha Syed Lal Badshah and Khan Ali Gulkhan to the people by standing upon this fire brigade engine and exhorted them to remain non-violent to the bitter end."

Law

The law on the subject relating to the dispersal of assemblies is contained in Sections 127-130 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Section 127 gives power to any Magistrate or officer in charge of the police station to command any unlawful assembly or any assembly of five persons or more likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace to disperse. Under Sec. 128 the Magistrate or police officer is entitled to disperse such assembly by force other than military force if upon being commanded it does not disperse or without being so commanded it conducts itself in such a manner as to show a determination not to disperse. Section 129 provides that if any such assembly cannot be otherwise dispersed and it is necessary to disperse for the public security by military force the Magistrate of the highest rank who is present may cause it to be dispersed by such force. And lastly Section 130 provides that when the Magistrate determines to disperse such assembly by military force he may require the officer in command of soldiers to do so.

It has not been contended that the crowd which had gathered at the Gabuli Gate was an unlawful assembly. It was there for a

lawful and legitimate purpose namely to honour the two leaders who had been arrested that morning. The next question therefore is whether the crowd was likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace. We have already found that the crowd was peaceful and unarmed and had begun to disperse immediately after the two leaders were taken into the Thana. No doubt the Assistant Superintendent who had arrived there had asked the crowd to disperse but he was told that as soon as the leaders were admitted into the Thana they would disperse. Their only crime was that they shouted national slogans in the presence of the Assistant Superintendent of Police. He got angry and left in a huff. He did not take any steps to disperse the crowd if in his opinion it was necessary to do so but immediately rushed to the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner had already started for the Kabuli Gate with three or four armoured cars followed shortly by troops without ascertaining whether any steps had been taken to disperse the assembly otherwise than by military force and whether the situation was such that the police was unable to deal with it. On the contrary the City Magistrate present on the spot had informed the Deputy Commissioner that the crowd was perfectly non-violent, unarmed and dispersing and that no military reinforcements were necessary and that he should not listen to the report of the Assistant Superintendent of Police.

In fact the Deputy Commissioner had started with armoured cars even before the Assistant Superintendent of Police had met him. It is therefore clear that the Deputy Commissioner had decided to deal with the situation by military force without first ascertaining whether the assembly could be otherwise dispersed and if not whether it was necessary for the public security to disperse it by military force. We have already found that the armoured cars and the military were taken there not as a precautionary measure but with a determination to use them to strike terror. No attempt was made by the Deputy Commissioner even after reaching the gate to use other methods of dispersing the crowd and indeed he had no desire to do so. He was determined to use military force otherwise he would not have brought the armoured cars, and the military face to face with the crowd but would have kept them at a safe distance.

In these circumstances we are convinced that the provisions of Section 127 to 129 of the Criminal Procedure Code have been altogether ignored. And it has been established that no steps were taken to disperse the crowd if it was found necessary to do so, in accordance with the provisions of Section 127 and 128. The use of military force to disperse an assembly is permissible as a last resort when all other methods fail and also if it is found necessary for the security of the public to disperse it. But the Deputy Commissioner had no use for these legal provisions. He straightaway decided to use and did use military force.

The mentality of the Magistrate, Mr. Isemonger, who ordered the second firing was no different. He knew that the crowd would disperse if they were allowed to remove the dead and wounded and if the military and armoured cars were withdrawn. He would not agree. He knew that the Pathans were determined to receive the bullets and lay down their lives but he was equally determined to give the bullets if the crowd did not disperse unconditionally. He was implored to use other and less brutal methods to disperse the assembly if he was not prepared to accept the first alternative. No, he would not listen. On the contrary he gave a straight reply to the Hakim (witness No. 55) "we have decided upon our arrangements and must proceed with them." This reply illustrates the mentality behind the second firing. Mr. Isemonger too had no use for Section 129 and ordered firing with the results which we have already described.

Extent of Casualties

We have made special endeavours to ascertain the number of the killed and the wounded on the 23rd April. The authorities by prohibiting us from holding the enquiry on the spot have made our task more difficult. We are confident that if this enquiry had been held on the spot our Committee would have been in a better position to estimate the number of casualties. The authorities have from the beginning made efforts to minimise the gravity of the happenings of the 23rd. It was after a fortnight that they admit in their press communique that *one or perhaps two persons* got crushed under one of the armoured cars. The message of the Associated Press dealing with this incident was allowed to be published only in a mutilated form after omitting the matter in question. The Congress and the Khilafat Committees had barely a week to make inquiry. They commenced work on the 26th April after the military left Peshawar city. The Congress Committee through a special sub-committee and six batches of volunteers prepared and published a list of the dead, the wounded, and the missing numbering 179. This list was made up from such information as they could collect till the 30th April and it was published in the form of a bulletin on the 1st May, (vide Ex. F). It has been stated in the bulletin itself that the list is incomplete and a further list would be published when ready. The Congress was pushing on its enquiry and had got about a hundred more names. Witness No. 8 Khuda Baksh states:

"Q. What was the number of dead and injured whose names were registered?

A. This is the bulletin (Ex. F) and from information received after the publication of bulletin hundred more names were received over and above those in the bulletin. These names were entered in the register. This number is besides the number contained in the published bulletin. The register was taken away by

the English soldiers on the 4th May 1930."

The military on the morning of the 4th May raided the Congress Office, seized all the papers, etc., and took possession of the office itself. These papers included some of the papers connected with the enquiry which was being conducted by the Congress to ascertain the number of casualties. Luckily, however, a few papers including the original from which Ex. F was prepared had not been handed over to the Congress Office by witness No. 64, who had prepared the bulletin. These papers have been produced before us vide Ex. W, W-1, W-2, and W-3. Ilhai Baksh, witness No. 21 has produced from his book a list of sixty dead (Ex. 1) which he himself had prepared on the evening of 23rd April when the bodies were brought to the Khilafat Office. We might mention that witness No. 64 was specially charged by the Congress with the duty of compiling from time to time the lists. The issue of the newspaper "Sarhad" dated 29th April (Ex. J) has also published a list of 62 dead but in this the names of two persons have been mentioned twice therefore it is really a list of 60 dead. A large number of wounded persons were sent by the Khilafat Committee to the hospital and it is in evidence that several of them died subsequently. It is doubtful whether the names of these persons have been included in Ex. F or J. The bulletin of the Congress, we are convinced, has been very carefully prepared and finds corroboration in the lists, Ex. J and I. This bulletin was widely circulated in the city. It was affixed at various public places in the city. It cannot be said that the Government had no notice of its existence or of the list of the sixty dead published in the issue of the "Sarhad" and yet they have not so far challenged the accuracy of either of these lists or taken any steps to show that any of those persons shown as dead or missing are actually alive. In spite of all this in their first communique of the 23rd April the numbers of dead is given as 12 and in a later communique two weeks after the occurrence the number of dead is mentioned as 20. This is not at all surprising in view of their anxiety throughout to conceal the extent of havoc, caused by the firing, from the public and perhaps from the higher authorities. Witnesses before us estimate the dead to be about 200 to 300 and many more wounded. Considering all the circumstances connected with the firing as described by witnesses we are not prepared to disagree with this estimate. But the actual proof before us is in respect of 125 persons dead and missing. The actual number of the dead and the missing shown in Ex. F is 122-79 dead and 43 missing. Two or three in the list of the wounded have died since the list was made. It is in evidence that of 43 persons mentioned as missing not one, so far, has been found to be alive. They can therefore be included in the list of the dead. The total number of persons proved to have been dead thus comes to 125. This figure represents the result of the inquiry made by the Congress from the 26th to 30th April. Papers relat-

ing to the inquiry made by the Congress from the 1st to 3rd May the result of which was to be incorporated in another bulletin were seized by the military on the 4th May and therefore cannot be produced before us. The figure 125 therefore does not include the result of the inquiry upto the 4th May. Further enquiry could not be proceeded with owing to the forcible occupation of the Congress Office by the military and their continued presence in the city since the 4th May.

There is a large body of hearsay evidence that dead bodies were removed in lorries by the authorities and disposed of somewhere and indeed there are two eye witnesses who testify that they had actually seen the lorries being loaded with dead bodies (vide witnesses Nos. 38 and 40). But whether this be so or not there is no doubt that a large number of dead bodies were removed and disposed off by the authorities on the night of 23rd April. In fact there is abundant evidence that at the time when five or six Khilafat volunteers were shot dead in the act of removing the dead bodies from the Kissa Khanni Bazaar a considerable number of dead bodies was lying there and those dead bodies as also bodies of persons killed in the bazaar afterwards could only have been removed by the authorities. It follows therefore that a much larger number than 125 actually proved to have been killed and missing must have been killed.

It is impossible to give any estimate even approximately of the number of the wounded. Witness after witness has stated that the number of wounded was much larger than the number of killed and missing. The newspaper "Sarhad" Ex. J mentions the figure of 300. This in our opinion is not at all an over estimate considering the number of persons killed and missing. It is common ground that a large number of wounded persons would not give their names through fear lest they might be prosecuted for participation in the so-called riot. The crowd that was fired upon included a large number of people from outlying villages and other territories and such of them as might have received injuries it is impossible to trace. This explains why in the Congress bulletin Ex. F only 56 persons are noted as wounded.

On a consideration of the whole evidence both oral and documentary we find that the actual number of persons proved to have been dead is 125 but we would add that a much larger number must have been killed and a still larger number wounded.

Findings

It now remains for us to record our findings on the main issues involved in the inquiry. We have already given our reasons on which these findings have been based and we do not therefore propose to repeat them. Our findings are:—

(1) In the situation that had arisen at Peshawar on the 23rd April firing by the armoured cars and the military was wholly

unjustifiable.

(2) Provisions of law and procedure were not only not complied with but were deliberately set at naught before orders to fire were given.

(3) The Deputy Commissioner without any warning and without any justification rushed the armoured cars through the unarmed, unresisting and peaceful crowd (which had already commenced to disperse after the two leaders were admitted into the Thana) and thereby killed and wounded twelve to fourteen persons. Had he not done so subsequent tragic events of the day would not have happened. The responsibility for all this is entirely on the Deputy Commissioner. He created a situation by his action. Enraged at the sight of their dead and wounded brethren some irresponsible persons in the crowd picked up stray stones and threw them towards the armoured car. One of the stones hit the Deputy Commissioner and this gave him a handle for ordering armoured cars to open fire. If the object of the Deputy Commissioner was merely to disperse the crowd he could have easily done so by other methods. But there was no desire on his part nor indeed did he make any attempt to deal with the situation in any other way. On the contrary there was a determination to use military force with a view to strike terror and this was done.

Similarly with regard to the second firing Mr. Isemonger had decided to use military force. Refusal by the people to disperse unless they were allowed to remove the dead and the wounded and unless the armoured cars and the military were withdrawn gave him a handle to order firing. If his object was merely to disperse the crowd, whether it was necessary to do so or not, he could have easily done so by other methods but he had no desire and indeed he made no attempts to try other methods. He resorted to firing straight off.

(4) No. The object of firing was not so much to disperse the crowd as to use as much force as the authorities considered necessary to strike terror. Firing was therefore resorted to recklessly, indiscriminately and for inordinate length of time. And it was not confined merely to the Bazaar but was extended to side streets, bye-lanes, balconies and other places round about.

(5) The number of persons actually proved to have been killed is 125 but we have no doubt that a much larger number must have been killed and a still larger number wounded. Proof in respect of this larger number of killed and wounded it is impossible to secure in the conditions now obtaining in the province. Such proof as had been collected by the Congress Committee after the 29th April was seized by the military on the 4th May since when further inquiries have become impossible owing to the continued presence of the military in the city.

CHAPTER II

We have dealt with the main case in the preceding chapter. In this chapter we propose to refer to conditions obtaining in the city and district of Peshawar and other parts of the Province since the deplorable happenings of the 23rd April. We consider it necessary to do so because the case of the people is that the authorities had decided upon a deliberate policy to crush the national movement for freedom by every means in their power and it was in pursuance of that policy that steps were taken and measures adopted to terrorise the people of those areas where the Congress has influence.

Peshawar after 23rd April

The conditions which prevailed in the city of Peshawar on and after the 23rd April have not been referred to by the Government in any of their communiques nor have they been the subject of inquiry before the Sulaiman Committee. These conditions have been described before us by a large number of witnesses most pathetically. We propose to review them very briefly in the following paragraphs.

The military remained in possession of the city on the 23rd, 24th and 25th April. On the night of the 23rd the magistrate promulgated an order under Sec. 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting people from meeting together. Next morning Congress volunteers engaged in picketing liquor shops were arrested. People were not allowed to go about the lanes, bazaars or places of worship. They and their cattle had forcibly to remain within closed doors. If any one was found moving about he was assaulted by the military pickets. The city gates were closed and ingress and egress became impossible. Business was at a standstill and a large number of people had to starve for want of provisions. The Government censored all news and kept people outside the province in the dark regarding the real state of affairs, (vide statements of witnesses Nos. 1, 5. 7, 10, 18, 23, 26, 28, 38 and 64).

Several witnesses (vide Nos. 29, 35, 38, 39, 52, 55 and 64) have deposed before us that on the morning of the 25th they noticed in front of both sides of shops of Iron Merchants near Pukka Bridge blood in large quantities. This is what witness No. 52 has stated in this connection. "I want to submit at this stage the fact that on the night of the 24th and the 25th April some people were returning from the fair of Shah Bari Latif. At night the military pickets fired at those people who entered the city. On

the 25th April (morning) I reached Pukka Pul near Ghanta Ghar, and saw people in dismay. I came to know that on the previous night some persons were shot dead. The place of occurrence is near from there. I personally visited the place and saw the fresh blood stains. The passer by used to stand round the places of occurrence and look at them in amazement."

The Government withdrew the military on the night of the 25th April. Curiously enough they also withdrew the police who always used to guard the gates and the city against raiders from Transborder territory. A rumour at once became current in the city that the police was withdrawn to enable the Frontier Tribes to loot the city. Realizing the danger the volunteers of the Congress and other sister organizations successfully undertook and discharged the duties of the police day and night and nothing untoward happened (vide witnesses Nos. 5, 18, and 25). After the withdrawal of the military the Congress commenced making inquiries regarding the dead and wounded. From the evidence of witness No. 64 it apepars that the Congress Committee appointed six separate batches of volunteers to inquire and collect the details. From the materials so collected a register was prepared and witness No. 64 drew up the Congress bulletin No. 10 (Ex.F). On the 25th April a newspaper "Sarhad", printed a list of the martyrs. (Ex. J.). The Government realising that the events of the 23rd had not sufficiently terrorised the people and the activities of the Congress were being carried on as usual declared the Congress Committee an unlawful association and recalled the military. From the evidence before us we find that the military, on the night of the 3rd May, beseiged Peshawar city and at about 5 A.M., on the 4th May they raided the Congress Office, took possession of it, looted a shop on the ground floor and removed furniture, records, cash and other belongings of the Congress. They also mercilessly belaboured 36 Congress volunteers who were at the time in the office and marched them off to the Police Chowki. The military is virtually in possesion of the city ever since the 4th May. The activities of the military during the period have been thus described by witness No. 64:—

"On the 4th May when we assembled the military had taken complete control of the city. A person of one locality could not go to another. Karim Pura Bazaar was not guarded. I learnt at 11 A.M. that Congress volunteers who were wounded were brought to my house. I therefore came home immediately. I saw that about 40 volunteers were there of whom some were in a serious condition. After dresing them they were taken to their respective homes towards evening. On the 6th May the control was a bit relaxed, but the military still patrolled the city and people were beaten for no cause whatsoever and this state of things went on for several days so much so that one day when I along with my friend Ghulam Mustafa was standing in a lane of my Mohalla a

patrolling party passed by. One of their officers on seeing us ran after us and we entered the residential female quarters of Ghulam Mustafa. He followed us to the female apartment and struck my friend Ghulam Mustafa with a danda and took his spectacles away. So many incidents took place. People were being very much oppressed and are oppressed now. On the 19th May Karim Pura was being patrolled by the military. Besides, parties of British soldiers entered the thoroughfares and blind streets and attacked people. In Koocha Malik Shahbad where I live, British soldiers entered one day hammer in hand chained the doors of houses from outside and crushed them in such a way that they might not be capable of being unchained; similarly other acts continued, so much so, that it became very difficult for a man to go out, what to say of women and children. Even now, there is such repression in the city on the part of the authorities that no man with self respect can possibly bear such humiliation and degrading insults as are heaped on the people by the troops. If there had not been pressing circumstances I would have left the city long ago. No citizen at any time regards his life, property, honour and family and children as safe, since a British soldier's rifle had made a mother with her two innocent children its target. Even funerals are not immune from bullets. A passerby while passing in front of the Balahissar was fired at without reason which singed his hair and cap."

Localities inhabitated by Congressmen were specially selected for the operation of the military pickets. Witness No. 59, mother of a barrister, has given a most heart-rendering account of the conditions prevailing in a locality where military pickets were posted. She says "from 19th to 21st May, 1930, the English soldiers in rows have been patrolling the city area from the Clock Tower to the Jhanda Bazaar to terrify people. Neither women nor men could go out of this area. We have been patiently suffering the following:—

(1) The Sweepers could not come and the houses remained uncleaned.

(2) Water carriers could not bring water, so we had to remain thirsty.

(3) Maid servants could not come to clean cooking utensils.

(4) None could go out for shopping. Those widows who used to work for others and thus earn their livelihood could not go out and lost their daily wages. Many lonely widows starved and so did their children.

(5) We used to go out to Sudder Bazaar towards Rampura by way of L. Mul Chand's house who is our neighbour. The English soldiers used to stone us and point at us their rifles in order to terrify us. They used to shout something in English and seemed to be very angry.

(6) Gulsaran a pan and cigrettes shopkeeper outside the Bakshi Mohalla was closing his shop. At this time some English soldiers

came and caught hold of him. Some of them took away all that his shop contained and left him there in the same condition. Afterwards we heard that the shop-keeper went to the officer of the soldiers and reported. But the English officer instead of hearing and doing him justice beat him and turned him out."

Many other witnesses have similarly narrated before us the sufferings of the people during the period and in particular several Muslim witnesses have bitterly complained that owing to the terrorism of the British troops they could not observe the Id festivities in the customary manner although the Civil Authorities had by a proclamation made necessary concessions to enable them to do so. Witness No. 62, the then representative of the Associated Press at Peshawar describes the various steps taken by the authorities to prevent the news of all these happenings from reaching the outside world.

Before we proceed to another subject we desire to make a special reference to two instances which illustrate in a telling manner conditions prevailing in the city of Peshawar since the 23rd April.

(1) On the 27th April when the military were withdrawn a memorial in honour of those who were killed on the 23rd April was put up (Ex. K) by one M. Ashique Hussain where people placed wreathes by day and kindled innumerable lights every evening. This memorial was demolished in the third week of May. The circumstances leading to the construction and demolition of the memorial have been described by Mahomed Baksh, witness No. 50 as follows:—

"Q. When was the momorial of the martyrs raised?

A. On 27-4-30.

I present a photo of the same, (Ex. K) I had written the following Urdu words upon it "In memory of the martyrs for the liberty of India, Peshawar, 23-4-30."

I also produce page 7 of the "Frontier Advocate" dated 6-5-30, which contains a hand drawn picture of the memorial raised in memory of the martyrs for the liberty of India at Peshawar. It is (Ex. L). This memorial was built by Mohammad Ashique, Fruit Merchant, who paid for it. It cost more than a hundred rupees. The people raised memorials in streets on the spots where they saw the dead bodies of their brethern. They placed lights and offered flowers at the said memorials. The flowers were offered because the innocent blood of their dear bretheren had been shed there. The people illuminated these places like Divali continually for three or four days. It was generally believed that tombs would be raised at these places and the road would be blocked. It was for this reason that Ashique, fruit merchant, came forward to erect that memorial at one place as the expression of their joint desire, a photograph whereof I have produced.

Q. At what spot was the memorial raised?

A. At the platform in the Kissa Khani Bazaar at a distance

of two steps at the right hand side of the road leading from Kissa Khani to Dhaki Nalbandi.

When Ashique had erected the memorial he noticed that on the very first night the people offered flowers and kindled innumerable lights having given up the memorial worship at other places. He, therefore, decided to raise a permanent memorial to perpetuate the memory of the martyrs for all time to come. He purchased railing the following day and got it fixed all round. Ashique Hussani was arrested under a charge of murder under Section 302 I. P. C. within a week.

Q. When was the memorial demolished?

A. I think it was demolished in the third week of May.

Q. How was it demolished and by whom?

A. Ashique was made to demolish it in the presence of the superior officers under military coercion at 4-30 A. M.

Ashique who was in custody on a charge of murder, Section 302 I. P. C., was brought from jail and was made to strike the first blow. He did not know why he was brought there. British troops were present. All superior military officers were standing there and all rifles were aiming at Ashique. He was ordered to demolish it which he did. He was released thereafter and told that there was no longer a case against him. All this has been told to me by Ashique himself. He is now free."

This version has been amply corroborated in all essential particulars by witness No. 55 Hakim Jail Khan and some other witnesses. We are satisfied that the story narrated by witnesses is true. We leave the matter there and make no comment.

(2) On the 31st May, 1930, S. Ganga Singh, Superintendent of the Government Dairy Farm, was going in a tonga with his wife and children, through the Kabuli Gate. He saw on his right British soldiers in the window of a building just opposite the Police Station. Immediately he heared a shot from that building and he found his wife was wounded and one daughter and son aged respectively nine and three years killed on the spot. A funeral procession was subsequently taken out which was met on the way by a party of British soldiers numbering about 25 coming from the opposite direction. Without any previous warning or provocation of any sort, these soldiers showered bullets on the procession. As a result of this firing at least ten men were killed and 20 wounded. Sardar Ganga Singh has not appeared before us but he has sent us a statement signed by him and has authorised us to make such use of it as we deem fit. (Vide Appendix A.) His story is fully corroborated by a number of independent witnesses who have appeared before us (Vide witnesses Nos. 53, 54, 55, 66, 67, 68 and69). Witness No. 55, has stated "On 31st May, when I was sitting in my dispensary the brother of Mr. Pir Bux, pleader, informed me that a British soldier had murdered two children in Kissa Khani. I went

there at once. And there I saw the same spectacle as on the 23rd April. On the one side was the crowd and on the other were the Police and the Border Militia. I somehow reached the Kabuli Thana from the side. There I was waiting for some official when the Joint Deputy Commissioner arrived there. I inquired from him the facts. He said that he was very sorry for what had happened. It was an accident. Still inquiry would be made into the matter. The offender had been arrested. He was cleaning his rifle and a shot went off. The offender would be court martialled. I asked him if he could be tried by a civil court. He replied he could not say definitely. I asked him to deliver the dead bodies to us and the people would go away of their own accord. He agreed to what I said and gave me a letter to receive the dead bodies. As the post-mortem examination had not been done there was delay in getting the bodies. I handed over the letter to another person and came to the place where the crowd had gathered and gave an assurance to the people that the dead bodies would be delivered. After half an hour information was received that the dead bodies had been delivered to S. Gunga Singh, the father of the deceased and that he had taken the dead bodies to the Gurdwara Asamai for the performance of religious rites. I informed the people about this fact and all proceeded towards the Gurdwara. Taking the dead bodies from there we reached the Hastings Memorial passing from inside the Bazaar. I was leading. I saw a party of British soldiers and Sikhs coming from the direction of the Clock Tower. On this side was the procession and there was an apprehension of a clash. Proceeding further I came up to the Pukka Bridge. The officer of the Company was in the front. I told him that a funeral was coming and that he should keep aside or get into the street. But this officer being a gentleman he ordered a retreat. And a possible clash was thus avoided. The procession passing through the different parts of the city reached Ghorkhatri where there was the same officer with his men. I requested him that the British soldiers might be asked to go in. This time again the suggestion was accepted. I requested the officer to close the gate also. This was also agreed to and the matter passed off quietly. Here Mirza Mahamad Khan Sahib made the people take a pledge that they should remain non-voilent entirely and even if they were shot they should not use violence against anybody. The people took a pledge and the procession proceeded. This English officer who twice acceeded to my request was Lieutenant Branley of the K. O. Y. L. Infantry. We are extremely grateful to this officer. We had advanced about a hundred yards when I saw another batch of British soldiers coming. I again went forward. This time the officer was in the middle and the soldiers in the front going forward with slanting rifles. Proceeding forward I inquired from them as to where the officer was. Instead of answering my question they levelled the rifles at me and pointed the bayonets to my chest. Had I not moved aside I would

have most surely been dead or grievously hurt. Turning aside I rushed into them so that I might see their officer. I could not see the officer but another person who had three medals (Billas). I told him that this was a funeral. He whistled and soldiers in first row proceeded further and entered right into the procession. Probably the officer also went forward. The processionists gave way to them. In the meantime the same officer (Billawala) whistled and ordered a halt. Those in front stopped. At this time a British soldier attempted to attack by bayonet a person who had caught his rifle. I told this man to give up the rifle. At this time one British soldier fired on an old man who was standing on the other side of the bazaar. He died as soon as he fell. What more was needed. Firing started. Two or three volleys were fired. Standing on the platform of a shop I kept on imploring the British soldiers to stop firing. Two soldiers levelled their rifles at me. I asked them what my fault was that they were going to kill me. By the blessing of God they did not shoot at me and went forward. All this occurrence must have taken only three or four minutes. We started to pick up the dead and the wounded, those people who had taken refuge here and there also came up. The dead and wounded were first laid at the mosque and then they were carried on charpais to the place of Dr. Khan Sahib. As it had become widely known about me that I had been killed, therefore, after I was free from these arrangements I went to my house and then directly came to Dr. Khan Sahib, and took the wounded from there to the Lady Reading Hospital. It was the Essex platoon that had fired. I did not hear the officer give the order to fire. A British soldier in the back fired the first shot. I met the soldiers and officer of this batch at 2 o'clock when I was taking the wounded to the hospital. Now they wanted to close the passage to the Kotwali. We told them that this was the way to the hospital. If the passage was closed how were we going to take the wounded. He said he would allow the wounded to pass. He inquired from me as to how many had been killed. I told him that 8 had been killed and about 20 wounded. I told him that he had not given the order to fire. He said that he had not. But in the evening I came to know from another officer that he admitted having given the order. On investigation it was found that 10 had died and 20 grievously wounded. Only 12 wounded have been admitted to the Lady Reading Hospital. These are the facts known to me and which I have stated without exaggeration or minimising. This incident had such an effect on me that I left my home and came away. I will stay for a few days in Kashmere. No man with feeling and self respect can live in Peshawar under the existing British Soldiers' rule."

Q. Can you definitely say that the people were not at fault?

A. Yes, I am as sure as it is day just now. No one even spat, no one abused. No order for dispersal was given. The peo-

ple were not informed that they were going to be fired upon. The procession allowed the military to pass on and gave way. If they had wanted to proceed they could have done so easily."

The Government of the Frontier Province issued a communique explaining the shooting by the British sentry as the result of an accident and while expressing its regret to S. Ganga Singh promised an enquiry. By declaring the shooting to be accidental the Government prejudiced the very subject matter of the enquiry which was promised. Whether this shooting was or was not accidental the killing of ten and wounding of twenty persons who were following, as mourners, the funeral of S. Ganga Singh's children by British troops on the 31st May cannot be called accidental. We are not aware of any explanation or communique issued by the Government in this connection. The evidence before us is so strong and so convincing that we are satisfied that the story is genuine.

Conditions in the Frontier Generally

The evidence before us discloses that Congress Committees and allied orginizations have been declared unlawful associations everywhere one by one since 23rd April. Their offices have been raided, papers, cash, furnitures, etc., seized and in some places burnt. Congress men volunteers and their sympathisers have been subjected to ruthless persecution and a large number of workers have been jailed. Several villages have been beseiged by the military and ingress and egress made impossible for days. Persons wearing Khaddar or Gandhi caps have been the special victims of these attacks—their clothes have been torn and in several cases they have been made stark naked and mercilessly belaboured. Witnesses from the districts of Peshawar, Bannu and Kohat where Congress has a hold on the people have given us most heartrendering and horrifying accounts of their respective towns or villages some of which we mention below.

Peshawar District

Utmanzai, Parang, Takkar, Babra, Chaedda, Ghazat Khel, Muhammed Gul, Mian Garhi, Dargai (Vide witnesses Nos. 49 50 and 65).

Bannu District

Bannu, Dawood Shah, Mahomed Khel, Bazat Khel, Magul Khel (Vide witnesses Nos. 6, 30, 42, 43, 44 and 58).

Kohat District

Kohat, Darsmand and Thal, (Vide witnesses Nos. 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 41).

The statements of these witnesses are so full of instances of acts of atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated on the people

that we find it difficult to present a summary of their evidence or to select extracts from them. We shall therefore content ourselves by giving an extract from the evidence of one witness only. Witness No. 49, Abdul Rauf states:—

"On 13th May 1930, at 3 A. M. the Government beseiged the village of Utmanzai while it was still dark. At the break of day the Deputy Commissioner with British and Indian troops entered the village. Outside the village were posted eight hundred British mounted troops and one regiment of Indian Cavalry consisting of Sikhs, Mahommadans and Dogras. Besides this were present Shia soldiers, three hundred strong, who had been specially enlisted to beat. These Shias were from Transborder villages. In Tirah where they had fought each other on a religious issue and had been defeated Government had given them shelter for its own selfish ends. There were four Lewis guns and numberless machine guns outside the village. The Deputy Commissioner went near the office of the Khudai Khidmatgars and ordered the British and Shia soldiers to break the gate of the shop over which the said office was situated. They tried their best but failed. They therefore surrounded the balcony by climbing up the walls. The soldiers who were standing below began to break open the shops. They broke the flour shop of Suleman, resident of the village Ajjar, and after throwing his empty bags hither and thither took away two hundred rupees of his which he had placed under these empty bags. He duly reported the matter to the Anjuman.

The Burning of the Office

The British soldiers after breaking the wickets opened the Mandi gate when there was no person present. The soldiers rushed in at once and broke open the baithak of the Mandi. The sacks lying outside were torn up by bayonets. The bags of Gur (sugar cane juice) were emptied. They ate some of it and took away as much as they could. When they were told that it was a Mandi they replied "Damn the Mandi. It is Red Army stores." The books of the Mandi that were found there were burnt. My partner, Srimund had returned the same evening after having collected all dues from outside. As the time was short I deposited the collected money along with the list in the wooden almirah, thinking that next morning after checking the accounts, expenses, etc., I would enter it in the books. Next morning the events above described took place. The money was taken away by the soldiers. In order to correct the accounts I am trying to find out how much money he (my partner) had collected. Approximately some four thousand rupees are missing. I cannot estimate the total loss owing to the loss of my books. I do not know how much money is still with the Zamindars and merchants and whether I will be able to recover

it or not. The invoices have been handed over to the merchants but no receipts have been made out. The above matter was duly reported to the Committee.

The Deputy Commissioner went up to the balcony and ordered the Khudai Khidmatgars who were on duty there to go down and to take off their uniforms. They replied that they would not go down unless ordered by their own officer, and that they would rather die than take off their uniforms and clothes. At this Rabnawaz Khan, the commander of Khudai Khidmatgars, ordered them to go down with cries of "Long Live Revolution". The Deputy Commissioner tried to prevent them from shouting slogans as they were going down and touching the breast of a Khudai Khidmakgar named Shambaz with his revolver ordered him to take off his clothes. He replied "Sahab yeh hargiz na hoga, aur khas kar pathan ka pajama maut ke kabl utar nahin sakta" (Sahib, it is impossible. The trousers especially of a Pathan cannot be taken off so long as he is alive). At this the Deputy Commissioner himself beat him with fists and two British soldiers began to beat him with the butt-ends of rifles till he fell down unconscious. In his unconscious state his clothes were torn and thus he was rendered naked. After this Faiz Mohmad, a Khudai Khidmatgar, was ordered to take off his clothes. He too refused. Eight or nine soldiers began to take off his clothes forcibly. But he was a tall and powerfully built young man and they could not bend him. Then they wounded him on his forehead and the wound is still there. They beat him so much that he lay unconscious for hours. In his unconscious state every British soldier who was there kicked him. Thus one after the other every Khudai Khidmatgar who was there was beaten severely and his clothes torn off. Ghulam Abdul Razaq and several other Khudai Khidmatgars were hurled down on the pukka metallic road from the balcony. Abdul Razaq broke his foot. Ghulam's head was injured. Abdul Gaffar and Hakim, Khudai Khidmatgars, were wounded by bayonets. The beating that was given to Mohmad Naqib Khan, the Captain of Khudai Khidmatgars, is beyond description. His shirt was forcibly taken off but when he was ordered to take off his trousers he dashed towards his house which was nearby to fetch a revolver to retaliate. But Rabnawaz Khan, the Commander, shouted "Is your patience exhausted so soon that you are going to retaliate by voilence? You swore to remain non-voilent according to the Congress creed till death." At this he returned bareheaded and barefoot and without any shirt and was arrested.

In the confusion and beating which was going on, was standing in uniform a small boy, named Abdul Wali Khan, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan the pride of the Afghans. The Deputy Commissioner asked the small boy "Who are you?" He replied

"I am the son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan." The Deputy Commissioner having abused him, signed to a British soldier to bayonet whereupon the soldier leapt towards him like a mad man. But a Muslim soldier who was witnessing this affair intervened and his hand was injured severely by the bayonet. Another British soldier who was standing by advanced but Mir Hassam Khan, brother of Sarfaraz Khan who was in charge of the arrested persons took the boy in his hands and jumped down to the Masjid which was near and thus saved himself and the boy. At the time of coming down, the balcony was burnt by acid. The whole bazar was in danger of being burnt down but the Sappers and Miners and other people extinguished the fire."

Full statements of all these witnesses are printed in part II of this book.

Allegations against the Congress

At this stage we should like specially to refer to one very serious allegation made against the Peshawar Congress Committee by the authorities in their press note dated 6th May. In that press note several other allegations are also made. We have evidence before us to show that all these allegations are untrue but we restrict ourselves here to the consideration of only one allegation which has been referred to in the press note as the main justification for declaring the Congress and Youth League organizations in the Province unlawful organizations under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. This is what the press note says.

"On 29th April and subsequent days Peshawar Congress Committee issued posters and bulletins that they were in correspondence with the Haji of Turangzai who on their invitation was raising a laskhar with the intention of entering Peshawar District. It is thus apparent that the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha organizations have been engaged in fomenting open rebellion against the Government as by law established and the Local Government with the full approval of the Government of India has declared them to be unlawful associations under the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908."

We consider it essential to quote here what in reference to this allegation witness No. 18 Abdul Karim has stated before us:—

"The pretext given out by the Government for declaring the Congress Committee as unlawful is that the Committee is in conspiracy with the Haji Turangzai who wishes to attack the Government. But this is absolutely false. I say so because I definitely know it is false. I challenge the Government to produce any proof in support of this baseless charge. If they know of any correspondence from any office-bearer or member of the Congress Committee they should produce it.

Q. Is it written in your bulletin that the Haji of Turangzai

is about to make an attack on the Government with a force of one lakh of men or more? The Government says so is this true? The Government also says you have invited the Haji.

A. We never invited the Haji. We know that the Government accuses us of this conspiracy because our movement was and is gaining strength in Peshawar so much so that many of the citizens do not even like the idea of going to court and prefer to have their differences decided by us. As a matter of fact we have decided several disputes and some more applications for our arbitration were lying in our office which were removed by the British troops on 4th May, 1930. The Government wanted to destroy our increasing strength and prestige and hence they have made such a false accusation against us. The Government further expected that the All-India Congress Committee would disaffiliate our Congress Committee because of this accusation and then Government could destroy us in any way it liked, as the Government of this province is accustomed to suppress any movement in the province by ruthless repression of all kinds. In our bulletin it is written "News has come that Haji of Turangzai with his followers numbering one lakh or more is prepared to take part in the national movement." It is not written in our bulletin that the Haji is coming with his followers numbering one lakh or that we have invited him. All that we said was that news has been received that the Haji is ready to take part in the national movement.

Q. What do you mean by the national movement?

A. By this we mean our non-violent peaceful movement and in our bulletin we made reference to this movement in which the Haji Sahib was prepared to take part. We did not mean that he was coming armed with swords and guns. If we meant this we would never have written that he was joining our movement which is a non-violent movement. Haji Sahib lives at a distance of about 100 miles or more from Peshawar. I have never been to him nor has any body else gone to see him on behalf of the Congress. So far as I know this matter was never talked about in our office. If we wanted to negotiate with the Haji of Turangzai or had the slightest intention of giving up non-violence in that case we would have entered into negotiations with the Afridis amongst whom I hold the rank of a Malik who are only nine miles from Peshawar.

Q. How did you get information that Haji Sahib was prepared to take part in the national movement with his one lakh followers?

A. We put in the bulletin whatever news we heard in the town.

Q. In its communique the Government says that the Congress Committee in its bulletin has admitted having carried on correspondence with Haji of Turangzai and that it is holding

out a threat of an attack by the lashkar of the hill tribes. Is this true or not?

A. This is absolutely false. These words do not appear anywhere in our bulletin. This false accusation has been made with a view to carry on a false propaganda against us in the outside world. I know it fully well that this was never published in any Congress bulletin. We challenge the Government to produce any such bulletin or document of such purport before the Sulaiman Committee and further to freely advertise the same. If they cannot do so the Government is bound to publish the true facts."

Several witnesses have equally strongly repudiated and resented this allegation (vide witness Nos. 14, 19, 31, 38, 52 and 55).

The Peshawar Congress Committee is part and parcel of the Indian National Congress. It has always preached through its bulletins, leaflets, pamphlets, public meetings, etc., that strict non-violence is the basis of the entire programme of the Congress. It has invariably insisted that people must remain absolutely non-violent even under the greatest provocation and we are convinced that in the most difficult and trying circumstances they had maintained the spirit of non-violence, displayed cool courage and patient endurance of suffering and thus enhanced the prestige of the Indian National Congress. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the respected leader of the movement, who is a staunch desciple of Mahatma Gandhi is in a great measure entitled to the credit of turning a strong sturdy martial and otherwise excitable race into an army of disciplined non-violent soldiers prepared to lay down their lives for the struggle for India's freedom. We refuse to believe that the movement led by such a man can have anything to do with those who advocate armed rebellion. The Government has libelled the great leader and the whole population of the province by publicly making such a serious allegation against the Peshawar Congress Committee. This was done, we are satisfied, with the deliberate object of declaring the Congress Committee an unlawful association. Equally untrue are similar other charges in the press note that a feature of the Congress campaign has been to propagate communist doctrines and display communist standards and symbols. All these charges, we say deliberately, have been made with a set purpose namely to enable the authorities to bring the Congress and allied organizations within the clutches of the law. We fully understand and appreciate the great indignation and resentment felt by the witnesses who gave evidence before us on this point.

Difficulties of our Task

We are now at the end of our labours but before we con-

clude we should like to say a few words regarding our difficulties in conducting the inquiry. We have already in the opening paragraph of this report pointed out that the Frontier Government had prohibited us from holding the inquiry at Peshawar. We were therefore compelled to hold our sittings outside the Frontier Province and we selected Rawalpindi as a convenient place for the purpose in the circumstances.

When we reached Rawalpindi on the 27th April we were told that the prominent Congress workers there were in custody and therefore the Congress Committee had not been able to make the preliminary preparations necessary for our inquiry. and that our press communique of the 17th May was not made known to the people in Peshawar. The new President of the Congress Committee informed us that he had sent a messenger to Peshawar to give information to the people and he would return that evening. No witness was therefore present on the 27th and we could not transact any business. We felt our task was hopeless. In the evening however some witnesses from Peshawar turned up and we learnt from them that others were following. The messenger of the Congress Committee returned next morning and we recorded his statement. He says "I was asked by the President, Local Congress Committee, to go to Peshawar and inform the people there that the Congress Enquiry Committee has commenced its work at Rawalpindi and that persons who know facts relating to the incidents of the 23rd April 1930, and thereafter should come and make their statements before the Committee. I saw that mounted police and police with lathis were patrolling the city. All the gates of the city were guarded by the police with the exception of Kabuli Gate which was guarded by a large number of British soldiers. On all sides of the gate and on the top of it British soldiers with bayonets were on guard. The whole city is terror-stricken. The office of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha is in the possession of the police. I saw the Vice-President of the Khilafat Committee. He said that people were terror-stricken on account of the display of police force and C. I. D. men who were posted at the Attock Bridge to note down the names of the people leaving Peshawar. The people were afraid that any one giving evidence before the Congress Enquiry Committee would on return to Peshawar be sent to jail on one pretext or another. The Vice-President told me that it was for these reasons that he had announced that no evidence should be led either before the Government Enquiry Committee or the Congress Enquiry Committee until all these obstacles which hindered the true facts from coming to light were removed. The oppression by the authorities is so great that no announcement can be made about the Congress Enquiry Committee in any way whatsoever. I suggested that an announcement may be made by beat of drum but he replied that it

was impossible since four men could not gather together. After five or six hours continuous efforts I was hardly able to see four or five Congress workers. They also confirmed the opinion of the Vice-President of the Khilafat Committee and further added that a Congress worker was sent to Rawalpindi with some documentary evidence but they had heard that he had been searched and all papers had been taken away from him by the police.

Q. (Chairman): You have told us that the military stopped the people from coming here, were you not stopped?

A. Nobody stopped me. I had heard from the Congress people that the military had blocked the way and nobody was allowed to pass. I was not stopped because the Frontier C. I. D. people did not know me.

Q. How were you dressed?

A. I was not dressed in Khaddar. I did not dress in Khaddar in order to avoid my ticket number being noted. The President of the Congress Committee had told me to go in foreign clothes."

We were agreeably surprised to find that several more witnesses turned up in the noon and we examined in all 17 witnesses that day sitting from 12 noon to 9-30 p.m. We were informed that the Khilafat Committee in view of the conditions obtaining in Peshawar had advised people not to give evidence before our Committee or before the Government Committee, otherwise called the Sulaiman Committee, which was then holding its sittings at Peshawar but later some relaxation of this injunction was made in favour of our Committee. A large number of citizens of Peshawar quite unconnected with the Congress had sent a communication to the Sulaiman Committee a copy of which was forwarded to us for information (vide Ex. Q). In that communication they had drawn the attention of the Sulaiman Committee to the conditions obtaining in the city under military regime and the difficulties of persons who might otherwise be willing to give evidence. They had requested the Sulaiman Committee, for the reasons given in that communication, to postpone their inquiry.

The bungalow in which we were holding our inquiry received the special attention of the C. I. D. and day and night it was surrounded by a large number of men of that force perhaps specially deputed for the purpose. It was in such surroundings that we had to conduct the enquiry and witnesses and visitors coming to us were watched. It was a matter of surprise and no less satisfaction to us that in spite of all these difficulties as many as seventy persons came to give evidence before us. They all knew that they would not enjoy the immunity which the Government had promissed to witnesses appearing before the Sulaiman Committee. They fully realised the risk they were running and yet they travelled long distances at their own expense to appear

before us. We ourselves had drawn their attention to the risk involved in their giving evidence before us and we found that most of them were prepared for consequences and gave evidence in the hope that by doing so they might help to end the reign of terror in their province no matter if they had to suffer on that account. There were others not so bold who gave evidence with tears in their eyes moved by a compelling sense of duty to their brethren in the province and yet oppressed by fear of consequences. Several witnesses have described to us how, why and under what circumstances they came to give evidence before us. Witness No. 30 Koturam, Pleader of Bannu, states:—

"*Q.* Why do you take the risk involved in giving evidence before us?

A. I hesitated a great deal at first and once when I had packed my luggage and prepared to come here I unpacked it. But at last I could not restrain myself. The present condition of the country forced me to do my duty and to disregard personal interest because the people of Bannu are continuing to observe non-violence and are suffering such hardships and trials. I thought it obligatory upon me to lay the true facts before the country."

Witnesses No. 55 Hakim Abdul Jalil Khan a prominent citizen of Peshawar states "I am going to Kashmere for the very reason that I am no longer strong enough to be able to see this rule of tyranny by the British soldiers. I can also not remain quiet and if I am not quiet then imprisonment is in store for me. This is why after leaving my children I am going to Kashmere.

Q. Do you realise the risk in coming here?

A. I have come to depose before this Committee after very great compulsion because I am afraid that for my deposition here some steps will be taken against me. But I am not so shameless that I cannot bear even such hardship.

(NOTE:—*The witness here burst out crying.*)

Witness No. 7 Mayadas, aged 70 years, states:—Every person who comes to Rawalpindi has his name noted down by the police at the Railway station. My name was also noted down. It is widely remoured in the city that whosoever goes to Rawalpindi to give evidence before the Congress Enquiry Committee will be arrested.

Q. Do you know that your coming to give evidence here might bring you into trouble?

A. I came down on a condolence visit and came to know that Messrs. Patel and Malviyaji have come here. Hence I have come to give my evidence. My name was noted down by a C. I. D. man on the Peshawar Railway station. I was asked my name and the object of my coming. I told them everything. Nobody stopped me.

Q. Do you know you might be arrested for this statement?

A. What to say of arresting me let them shoot me."

Witness No. 4 Karam Chand, Banker of Peshawar, states:—

"On coming here I learnt that evidence was being recorded and therefore whatever I had seen I have come to state. We did not know at Peshawar that the Committee had come to Rawalpindi. We had learnt that it was to come. When it would come and take evidence we did not know. We learnt that the official committee had come to Peshawar, I did not go there because it is not on behalf of the people. I did not go to the Government Committee because no one from the people is sitting on it and we do not trust it . We have come before this Committee because we have faith in you. We are not afraid of coming to you. We realise that Government would trouble us but even if we are shot down we do not care."

This is what witness No. 51, a Timber Merchant has stated:— I assure you gentlemen that this statement of mine should be considered as my last statement because I feel that the Government following its usual policy of repression would arrest me for this statement. The Government wants that the cry of our unfortunate province should not reach your ears. The news is being circulated in our city that he who goes to Rawalpindi for giving evidence would be arrested on his return.

Q. Did you have any trouble in coming here.

A. I have come clad in foreign clothes because I thought that they might trouble me as a Khaddar-clad person. Even then I have been put to much trouble. I arrived here day before yesterday."

Of the 70 witnesses who gave evidence 37 are Muslims and 33 Hindus, several of them connected with the Congress movement. Among the 70 witnesses there are 16 merchants, 3 practising pleaders, 11 landlords and Zamindars including the present President of the Zamindars' Association at Peshawar, 3 school teachers, 4 students, 2 bankers, 3 doctors and 5 brokers and commission agents. Several persons who had received injuries by bullets or bayonets or were otherwise assaulted are also among the witnesses (vide witnesses Nos. 23, 36, 37, 56, 60, 9, 28, 44, 57, 61 and 62). The evidence of one Ramchand witness No. 56 is particularly interesting. He was brought to Rawalpindi from Peshawar. He could not walk, he could not sit, he could not stand. He was suffering from acute pain as he was twice run over by armoured car and had in addition received four bullet wounds. We got him examined by three independent medical practitioners in Rawalpindi. Their certificate (Ex. V) was produced before us by one of the Doctors (vide witness No. 63).

We have now finished. In the end we desire to acknowledge with thanks the services rendered to us by Diwan Daulat-

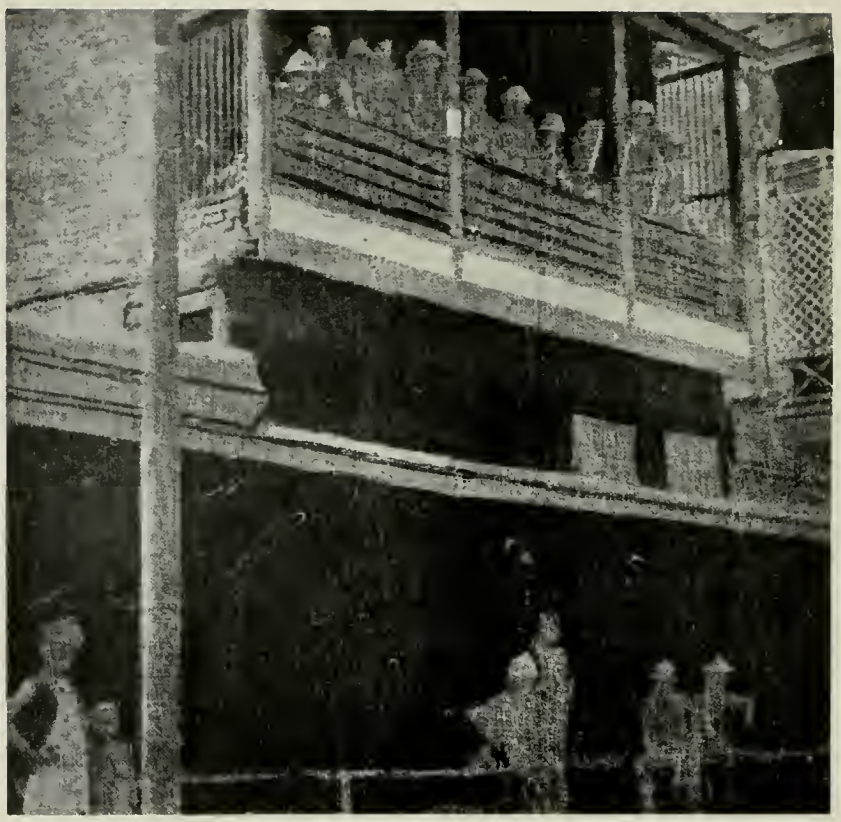
rai and Malik Jivanlal Kapur the two lawyers who at great personal sacrifice and inconvenience were present throughout the inquiry and made valuable suggestions. The services rendered to us by the Hon. Secretary Mr. R. S. Pandit at every stage of our inquiry and in the preparation of this report were invaluable. To him as also to Mr. B. R. Munshi (of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood) who examined the proofs the Committee is deeply grateful. Finally we place on record our admiration of the people of the North West Frontier Province for their strict adherence to the creed of non-violence in all their public activities in the most difficult circumstances.

(Sd.) V. J. PATEL (*Chairman*)
(Sd.) M. M. KIFAYATULLA
(*Subject to note below*)
(Sd.) L. DUNICHAND

N. B.—I agree with the whole report except as regards the finding of the majority that Mr. Metcalf was injured by a stone on the 23rd April 1930. From the evidence before us it has not been proved that the Deputy Commissioner was hurt by a stone. Indeed one witness, Muhamad Akram Khan, has stated to the contrary that the Deputy Commissioner while running towards the steps of the Thana, out of nervousness, fell down and struck his head against the edge of the steps and was thus injured.

(Sd.) M. M. KIFAYATULLA

Evidence



Congress office in Peshawar raided and occupied by British troops on 4th May 1930

Part II

Evidence

A—STATEMENT OF WITNESSES

1

The statement of L. Haweli Ram, son of L. Pheru Mal, age 35 years

I am a member of the local Congress Committee. I was asked by the President, local Congress Committee, to go to Peshawar and inform the people there that the Congress Enquiry Committee has commenced its work at Rawalpindi and that persons who knew facts relating to the incidents of the 23rd April 1930 and thereafter, should come and make their statements before the Committee. I saw that mounted police and police with lathis were patrolling the city. All the gates of the city were guarded by the police with the exception of Kabuli Gate which was guarded by a large number of British soldiers. On all sides of the Gate and the top of it British soldiers with fixed bayonets were on guard.

The whole city is terror-stricken. The office of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha is in the possession of the police. I saw the Vice-President of the Khilafat Committee. He said that people were terror-stricken on account of the display of police forces and C. I. D. men who were posted at the Attock Bridge to note down the names of the people leaving Peshawar. The people were afraid that any one giving evidence before the Congress Enquiry Committee would, on return to Peshawar, be sent to jail on one pretext or another. The Vice-President told me it was for these reasons that he had announced that no evidence should be led either before the Government Enquiry Committee or the Congress Enquiry Committee until all these obstacles, which hindered the true facts from coming to light, were removed.

The oppression by the authorities is so great that no announcement can be made about the Congress Enquiry Committee in any way whatsoever. I suggested that an announcement may be made by beat of drum but he replied that it was impossible since 4 men could not gather together. After 5 or 6 hours continuous efforts I was hardly able to see four or five Congress workers. They also confirmed the opinion of the Vice-President

of the Khilafat Committee and further added that a Congress worker was sent to Rawalpindi with some documentary evidence but they had heard that he had been searched and all the papers had been taken away from him by the police.

Q. (By L. Jivanlal Kapoor). Can you tell us where the English troops were posted?

A. As one enters the gate coming from the Cantonment the troops were seated on both sides of the gate and they were leaning out of the windows.

Q. Did you go to Kissa Khani Bazar?

A. Yes. I did not see any English troops there; I saw the police and Indian troops.

Q. (By the Chairman). You have told us that the military stopped the people from coming here, were you not stopped?

Nobody stopped me. I had heard from the Congress people that the military had blocked the way and nobody was allowed to pass. I was not stopped because the Frontier C. I. D. people did not know me.

Q. How were you dressed?

A. I was not dressed in Khaddar. I did not dress in Khaddar in order to avoid my ticket number being noted. The President of the Congress Committee had told me to go dressed in foreign clothes.

Q. Did you meet the Vice-President of the Khilafat Committee?

A. Yes Sir. His name is Salim Khan. He told me that until the troops were removed and an assurance was given that they would not be arrested for giving evidence as witnesses they would not come to depose. I wanted that notice of arrival of the Committee should be circulated in the city by beat of drum or handbills should be posted. But the people replied that that could not be done. I told every one that the Enquiry Committee had arrived at 'Pindi and requested all of them to come to 'Pindi but everybody replied that they could not do so. As I do not know people there, I cannot say if C. I. D. was watching or not. The Congress people and other people said that if they went to give evidence at 'Pindi they were sure to be arrested on their return.

(Sd.) Haveli Ram

28-5-30

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

(Sd.) V. J. Patel

28-5-30

2

The statement of Lala Acharj Ram, son of Lala Damodor Das, Age 45, occupation Banker residence Mohalla Assia, Peshawar City

I am not a member of the Congress. I am an eye-witness of the occurrence. On the morning of the 23rd as I came out of my house to go to my shop in Ram Chauk, I learnt that there was a Hartal in Peshawar City because of the arrest of some Congress leaders. I arrived at the Kabuli Gate after 9 a.m. I saw two Congress leaders standing there. There was also a crowd about two thousand in number who were shouting "Inquilab Zindabad." They had no sticks, axes or crowbars in their hands An Englishman came riding on a bay horse. He asked the people in Pushtu to keep quiet and the people remained quiet for about two minutes. Then they again shouted "Inquilab Zindabad." He got frightened and left the place. About twelve minutes after, armed police with a European officer arrived. Before the arrival of the police the leaders had gone inside the Thana and had asked the people to disperse peacefully and to carry on the Congress programme. As the people began to disperse I saw an armoured car arrive at great speed and rush into the crowed and I heard cries of "Mar Gai" "Mar Gai" (We are killed.) In order to see what was happening I came inside the Gate. Before this I was outside. I saw Lala Daswandi Mal, writhing in pain on the ground, in the middle of the gate. I recognized him. I also saw about a dozen persons run over by the car but I began to attend to Lala Daswandi Mal. I removed him to his house on a charpai. I did not see how the car caught fire as I was not present at the time, having gone with the body of Lala Daswandi Mal, who had expired. On the 24th the city was in the occupation of British soldiers and nobody was allowed to move about in the city; to enter it or to go out of the city. On the 25th and 26th the military and police were withdrawn and the gates were left open. The city was peaceful. On the 27th evening only the police re-entered the city. On the morning of 4th May we saw British and Indian troops again in the city and again roads were closed so that no one could go about from one part to another. A house had caught fire but people including relatives of the owners were not allowed to put out the fire. The house was burnt down.

I have heard that Gurkha soldiers were told that a Dharamsala (Temple) had been set fire to by the Musalmans. I know no attempt was made by any one to incite to rebellion and all this has been done to suppress the Congress and the National Movement. This time Government have used excessive force. I saw many persons bayonetted. They were not members of the Congress. Nobody is allowed to put on a Gandhi cap in

Peshawar because soldiers bayonet people for this. Voilence is used against persons for wearing Khaddar. People have now become more sympathetic with the Congress and have begun to dislike the Government. People are terror-stricken and the city has become a military camp. In front of the shops in Ram Chauk horses are tied and people cannot do even their ordinary business.

Q. (Chairman) Do you pay any income tax?

A. No.

Q. Do you own any property?

A. No.

Q. What is your income?

A. I cannot say exactly.

Q. You have told us that people are afraid; are you afraid?

A. Yes, I am afraid.

Q. Then why have you come here?

A. It is only by chance that I have come here; I did not come intentionally. Diwan Chand son of Dasondhi Ram told me to give evidence. I removed the dead body of Dasondhi Ram; therefore his son asked me to give evidence. I am afraid. I came to Khairabad to see Pandit Malaviyaji. Then I came here and thought I had better do my duty. I think about two hundred people died. This was a general rumour. With these very sinful eyes I saw about a dozen people in dying condition. I removed a man from near the Kabuli Gate. I related all this to Dr. Ludin Chand and J. Nazir. I showed them the dead body. They told me that the man was dead. This man died within five or seven minutes. My house is at a distance of about two furlongs from the Kabuli Gate. From the Kabuli Gate I was going to my shop.

To Diwan Daulat Rai:—My shop is situated in Ram Chauk. I was going from my house to my shop at about 8 o'clock. On coming out of my house I came to know that the city was observing Hartal (General Strike). I went to look round the city to find out how things were. An hour passed in gossiping. I went on talking at the shops of Gurbaksh Singh and Karim Chand. An hour must have passed. There was no Hartal in Asiya; I was there. I saw about twelve people in dying condition. I do not know any of them excepting one. I saw them in a very critical condition. The accusation that the people were in league with Turangzai is wrong. No one in our territory could possibly have gone out into alien territory.

(Sd.) Acharj Ram Kapoor

28-5-30

Read out to the witness and signed by him to-day in the presence of the Committee.

(Sd.) V. J. Patel

28-5-30

3

The statement of Pir Baksh, son of Mohammad Jan, occupation Fruit seller, residence Peshawar City

The Congress or Naujawan Bharat Sabha had no connection with the Sarda Act agitation. They had no connection with the Bolshevik movement nor does any Bolshevik agitation exist in our Province. Upto the 22nd April 1930 the Congress work was carried on wholly on peaceful lines and every one followed the directions of the Congress and acted upon them and no voice was heard against the peaceful programme of the Congress. On 22nd April 1930 a big meeting was held in the Shahi Bagh under the auspices of the Congress. There were about six or seven thousand men present in this meeting and included persons of all religions and communities. Syed Lal Badshah presided at the meeting. The speakers were practically all the local leaders who are now in jail. Resolutions were unanimously passed to picket liquor shops and to protest against the Government's order stopping the Punjab Deputation at Attock and it was announced that next day, i.e., on 23rd April picketing of liquor shops would start at 10 a.m. Syed Lal Badshah and Rahim Baksh Ghaznavi announced that they would picket the liquor shops before other volunteers did so. On behalf of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Lala Achraj Ram Kapur, who is now arrested, also announced that he would picket the shops with the above leaders. The meeting began at about 5 and ended at 7 p.m. The people present declared that they were ready for picketing according to the non-violent methods of the Congress. The people returned home quite peacefully. There are five liquor shops in the city and it was announced that they would be picketed simultaneously.

Lala Paira Khan, General Secretary, Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, in a forceful speech proposed the resolution in favour of picketing and Khan Ali Gul Khan and Rahim Baksh Ghaznavi and M. Abdul Rahim and others supported the resolution with enthusiasm.

Arrests took place towards the early hours of the morning. In the morning at 7a.m. Syed Lala Badshah and Khan Mir Khan Hilali were also arrested. An hour after Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Baksh Barqi were also arrested. Because of the arrests there was a spontaneous Hartal by the people. The Congress Committee according to their announcement made at the meeting of the previous night started the picketing of liquor shops.

I saw that Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Baksh Barqi were seated in a police lorry and were being taken towards 'A' Division Police Station. The people began to follow them to escort them up to the police thana. The crowd swelled to about 1,700. I also was in the crowd. When they arrived at the steps of the Thana, the police closed the gates. The leaders and the crowd were outside. Just at this time the Superintendent of Police came to the Thana knocked at the gate but no one opened it. The crowd remained on the spot and shouted national slogans. Mr. Said Ullah Khan, Magistrate, saw the Police Superintendent from above and asked the police to open the gate. But he left before the gate was opened. Then the gate was opened and the people surrendered the leaders to the police. People were shouting "Inquilab Zindabad." Police asked people to disperse. They began to disperse and at that time people were only shouting the slogans and were peaceful. Suddenly an armoured car entered at great speed. Without warning it rushed into the crowd, whereby about fourteen persons were crushed. Then the car was reversed. I saw a motor cycle collide with the car. The cyclist fell down and was crushed under the car. I saw him falling. I did not see anybody hitting the cyclist. I was standing close by. If any one had attacked him I could have seen it. People had gathered by chance and they had no hatchets, etc., with them. When the car trampled upon the crowd people cried out and it was then reversed. I saw an Englishman come out of the car. Because the people wanted to remove the dead and the injured, and British troops were beating them and preventing them, they got excited and began to shower stones, etc. There was no particular heap of stones on the road and the road was not under repairs. A few stones to be found here and there were thrown by the people. No one at that time threw any stone on the Englishman. Then that Englishman came out of the Division Thana accompanied by Said Ullah Khan and ordered the armoured car to open fire. I do not know the rank of that Englishman. Firing went on for some time. After the firing commenced I saw that the first armoured car was on fire. If any one from the crowd had set it on fire I would have seen it. After the car caught fire, Fire Brigade arrived and began to throw water on it. After the British troops came they also began to fire. Before the British troops came, an English Officer, who had a wart on his nose and whom I observed carefully, fired with a pistol at several persons. That English Officer had come out of the second armoured car. No one had attacked him. When the British troops began firing the people retreated. Before the British troops arrived the people were attempting to remove the dead and no one tried to do any harm. When the British troops began firing the people made a barricade with wooden boxes and other things. People were trying to remove the dead and the

wounded and at this time they were hit by bullets. People began to disperse through streets and side lanes, but the British troops showered bullets on them in all directions. I went away to the Congress office to report this occurrence. British troops were firing indiscriminately. They shot down any one in sight. Government apprehended no violence from the people. Government used this violence only to suppress the movement. On the morning of the 4th May British troops raided the Congress office. They removed everything including cash. From the Congress office upto the Gurdwara they beat the Congress volunteers with batons and butt-ends of rifles and also kicked them. I also received injuries. Whomsoever they beat, they said, was a Congressman. About 36 volunteers were beaten. Since 4th May uptodate the British and Indian troops are in the city, in the bazaars and in the streets and lanes. For several days the bazaars were closed and people could not go from one place to another. Shops were also closed but several shops were broken open. Especially fruit, cigarette and soda water shops were broken open and looted by the troops. Any one seen walking in the bazar or on the road was hit by lathi, bayonet or butt-end of rifle. I do not know the number of wounded but I have heard that many persons were wounded. Any one who had a permit was allowed to move about. On the Id day it is our religious duty to offer prayers at the Idgah which is situated at some distance from the city but we could not go for Nimaz and we could not celebrate the Id festival. We have not come here openly and people have not the courage to bring persons to give evidence owing to the risk of consequences. Many persons are wounded but owing to the difficulties and restraint imposed by the Government they are unable to come.

Q. (Chairman). Have you given a written statement?

A. Yes Sir, I have dictated it.

Q. Is this your statement? Is it correct?

A. Yes Sir, it is correct.

Q. When did you leave Peshawar?

A. I came here day before yesterday. I saw in the newspapers that the Congress Committee would be coming, also that there was to be an Official Committee as well. I thought it proper to go to Rawalpindi in order to put in my statement. Concerning the Official Committee a notification was published by the Government. The Government had arranged for a Guest House as well, but the members of the public did not go to give evidence as they were terror-stricken.

Q. Are you a member of the Khilafat Committee?

A. I am a Congress volunteer. On 23rd April 1930 I was not on picketing duty. I was a picket on 24th April 1930.

I am here since the last 2 days. I have come here secretly because persons belonging to the Political Department are always on the look out and if they come to know there would be trouble. I came by train. On the way I met the C. I. D. people once or twice who enquired about my destination. I replied that I was going to Haripur. I was questioned at the Peshawar Station to which I replied that I was going to Haripur for my own work. I was told that it had been published in the papers that an Enquiry Committee was coming. There is uptil now military picketing in the Peshawar City and in the Guest House.

Q. Is there now repression in the city or not?

A. The police and the military beat the people. I have also been beaten by the police and the British soldiers. On that night I was in the Congress office. There were 36 people. Mohammad Usman and Achraj Ram were arrested and the entire Congress office was searched. The furniture of the office and clothes, etc., were taken away. Shopkeepers' goods were also taken away. Some sewing machines were broken. We were all made to come down. Money was also taken away. This occurred on 4th May 1930. We were told to go away. While we had gone ten paces and were going towards Clock Tower we were surrounded by some 24 to 25 British soldiers. Some of these attacked us with fists, while others beat us with sticks. We were so punished only because we were Congress volunteers. Shopkeepers were also beaten. We had no sticks with us. When we enlisted as Congress volunteers, we were warned that we would have to bear hardships of all kinds. We had orders to remain perfectly non-violent. Had the Congress not ordered us, we would not have participated in this movement and who would have then beaten us? Had the Congress not so ordered us, we would have retaliated and used violence against violence. I joined the Congress after the Lahore Session. I have heard the name of Mahatma Gandhi. He is the leader. This movement is the National Movement.

Q. What do the people want?

A. All these people desire and stand for Independence. Mahatmaji has ordered that we should patiently suffer repression. We obey his orders, but I do not know whether we will attain Independence in this way or not.

When the armoured car arrived, people were standing. There were many people. They might be numbering a thousand or twelve hundered. I did not see as to how many men were sitting in the armoured car. One of them alighted first and then another followed him. Fourteen people were run over by the armoured car. Seven of these died and the other seven were injured. The dead were removed at that time. The second armoured car was coming along behind the first. The havoc

was caused by the first car. The second car did not run over any person. I saw a European coming on a motor cycle and collide against the armoured car. I do not know whether he died thereafter or not. I saw him falling under the armoured car. I did not see anybody hitting him. I did not know of his death. The motor cycle was running ahead. When the first car was reversing the motor cycle struck against it. The people raised a hue and cry saying some men had been crushed underneath the armoured car. Upon this the armoured car reversed and ran over the motor cyclist. An Englishman and Said Ullah Khan had given the order to open fire. The back wheel must have run over the motor cyclist. When people saw the bodies of the dead, they threw a few stones, that they could find, on the armoured car. The people did not try to stone or beat any person. The armoured car caught fire on steering back perhaps by the explosion of its tank. Just when the motor cyclist struck against it, the car caught fire.

To Lala Dunichand:—None of the crowd set the car on fire. The people were busy in removing the dead and the injured. They were thinking of their own difficulties.

Q. Did any one set fire by means of rags?

A. None set the car on fire by a rag even. Had anyone done so I would have seen it. Since the British motor cyclist had fallen underneath the car. I could not see him.

Q. Why did the firing take place?

A. When the people were crushed underneath the car a few stones were thrown. On this the order to open fire was given. I did not see anyone struck with a stone. One European had come out of the armoured car. I do not know his rank. He went over to the side of the Thana. An Englishman came down from the other car also. He had a wart on his nose. I could not recognise the Deputy Commissioner. I also did not know the Superintendent. The rider coming on the motor cycle was wearing a sola (a European hat) but I cannot say whether he was an Englishman or not. I have a shop for selling fruits in Peshawar. We did not give evidence before the Official Enquiry Committee because we were afraid to do so. They said that the statement of the witnesses would first have to be made before the Deputy Commissioner or some other responsible officer. Then only the statement before the Committee would be permitted to be made.

Q. You are giving evidence here. Do you know its consequences?

A. At the most they will arrest me.

To Dewan Daulat Rai:—The motor car was an armoured car. It crushed from 12 to 14 persons. The people tried to

remove only the dead and the injured. Seven corpses were removed in my presence. Five by the first batch and two by the second. While the corpses were being removed the order to open fire was given by an Englishman accompained by Said Ullah. Those people who tried to remove the bodies were also wounded. When the first five dead were removed, about 20 persons might have been required for the purpose of removal of the rest.

Q. Did the firing take place when the first five corpses were removed or the second two were going to be removed?

A. The firing did not take place at the very start. Between removal of the first five and the second batch of two dead bodies some three or four minutes might have elapsed. I was at that time helping in the removal of these two corpses when the firing began and went on. I escaped by the mercy of the Almighty. I did not run away on account of any fear of the firing. I was standing near the place from where the fire was being directed. At the time of firing, I requested the people not to go to the place of firing. When the firing was going on we made bold to remove the bodies. Those men who were removing the dead were also wounded by bullets. I was standing about 20 paces on one side of the armoured car. It was for this reason that I escaped. No one else was standing by me. The people were standing about 4 or 5 paces away from me. None of them carried anything in their hands. I, therefore, say that the Government was under no fear of any sort whatever. None of the public carried anything. People had gone to hand over the leaders at the police station consequently they did not carry anything. At that time 36 Congress volunteers were present in the office. They also did not have anything in their hands.

Q. What is the approximate number of Congress volunteers?

A. The whole city of Peshawar is a follower of the Congress. Some of the people are active workers. All the rest sympathise with them. Therefore I say that all the world follows the Congress creed.

Q. (Lala Duni Chand). What was the range of the bullets?

A. Three to four hundred feet.

Q. (Chairman). How did the armoured car catch fire?

A. It might have been due to collision.

Q. How many people died by the firing? And how many were injured?

A. I cannot say definitely. The Congress issued bulletins stating the correct numbers of the dead and the injured.

To Diwan Daulat Rai:—There are even now people who are missing.

(Sd.) PIR BAKSH

28-5-30

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

4

The statement of Karam Chand, son of Hukum Chand, caste Gandhi, age 25 years, occupation Saraf, residence Peshawar City

I do banker's business in Dabgari Bazaar, Peshawar. I own property worth about fifteen thousand. On 22nd April 1930 an announcement was made in the city on behalf of the Congress Committee that a public meeting will be held that evening in the Shahi Bagh in connection with the picketing of liquor shops the next day, viz., 23rd April 1930. In accordance with this announcement a meeting was held in the evening and I also went to the meeting. The local leaders made speeches and made an announcement about the picketing of liquor shops on 23rd April 1930. People expressed their concurrence with this resolution. People went back to their houses peacefully. In the morning we heard that the leaders had been arrested at night. We went to the office of the Congress Committee with a view to ascertain the true facts. When we reached the Kabuli Gate we saw that a large number of people had collected there and that the door of the Police Thana was closed and two leaders, who were wearing garlands of flowers, were standing on the steps of the Thana and were exhorting the people that however great may be the hardships inflicted on them by the police or their officers they should, following the instructions of the Congress, remain non-violent and bear everything. After a short while a wicket in the door of the Thana was opened and both the leaders went in. Just at this time armoured cars rushed inside the Gate (Kabuli) at a great speed without warning. The road and the platform in front of the Thana were full of people. One armoured car was driven on the people without warning by which a large number of people were injured and a number of them died, out of which the dead body of Lala Daswandi Mal Dharwai was removed by us. With me were Lala Achraj Ram and a few Muslim brothers who assisted in removing the body. The crowd was so large that even if the people had tried to escape from the car they could not have got away quickly. It was to be expected that a car going at such speed without warning should run over persons as it did. We removed the body of Daswandi Mal to his house. Then we came back to the Kabuli Gate in order to go to our houses in the Dabgari Darwaza, because this was the

way to our house. When we passed the Kabuli Gate we saw that British troops were firing. The people did not use violence at the time when the car ran into them or before it. Shortly after that the military occupied the city and without any cause insulted and wounded a large number of citizens and this continued upto the night of 25th April 1930. I have attended a number of public meetings of the Congress Committee and of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha; but in no meeting did I hear any speech about the Sarda Act.

To the Chairman:—I saw no dandas with the people near Kabuli Gate. I am not a member of the Congress and did not see any armoured car burning. We removed the dead body. I do not know who gave the order to fire. 10 or 12 persons died under the armoured car. I do not know exactly. A leader who was garlanded was saying that no one should use violence. When the people were crushed underneath the armoured car, then the leader said it. They said it because, by throwing stones, the movement of Gandhi would suffer. People ran after the Superintendent. He escaped towards the Cantonment. Thereupon the leaders exhorted the people. People shouted "Inquilab Zindabad," I saw the Superintendent bolt. The leaders thought that somebody might assault him. Therefore they asked the people to remain non-violent. People threw stones on the armoured car. I saw 2 or 3 persons throwing stones. They had bricks from here and there. I had no stones. We were unarmed. How could we fight the armoured car? I did not see the persons who died of bullets. The firing was going on upto 4 or 5 o'clock. I did not see the firing, nor can I say for how many hours firing lasted. After 23rd April 1930 military pickets were posted. The roads were blocked. No one was allowed to go about. Until the day before yesterday the shops, in front of which cavalry was posted, remained closed.

On 25th April 1930 military was withdrawn from the city and the Congress took over control. The military marched out of its own accord. I don't know whether the Chief Commissioner had ordered the withdrawal of the military. Water supply was not cut off. I learnt the day before yesterday that Pandit Madan Mohan Malvyaji was coming but was stopped at Khairabad. We came with garlands but we learnt that he had gone to Campbellpore. From there I learnt that he had gone to Rawalpindi. I came here. No one stopped me on the way. On coming here I learnt that evidence was being recorded and therefore whatever I had seen I have come to state. We did not know at Peshawar that the Committee had come to Rawalpindi. We had learnt that it was to come. When it would come and take evidence we did not know. We learnt that the Official Committee had come to Peshawar. I did not go there because

it is not on behalf of the people. I did not go to the Government Committee because no one from the people is sitting on it and we do not trust it. We have come before this Committee because we have faith in you. We are not afraid of coming to you. We realize that Government would trouble us but, even if we are shot down, we do not care.

To Lala Duni Chand:—I do not know if there are any wounded persons at Peshawar.

(Sd.) KARAM CHAND

28-5-30

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

(Sd.) V. J. PATEL

28-5-30

5

The statement of Sardar Diwan Singh, son of Sardar Lal Singh, age 27 years, caste Sikh, occupation Arhti and Residence Peshawar, Mohalla Asya

On 22nd April I was present at the Congress Meeting. It was announced that city liquor shops would be picketed from next day. I am not a member of the Congress. Next morning (23rd April 1930) I came to know that about ten leaders had been arrested the previous night and that there was a complete hartal in the city. On the same day at about 2 p.m. I was sitting at my Balakhana in the Mewa Mandi, when I saw persons carrying 15 or 16 dead bodies on cots. On seeing this I came down with my friends and saw the bodies. I found that ten or twelve bodies were of Trans-Frontier people, three or four of the citizens of Peshawar. The latter dead bodies were taken towards Dabgari Gate. Besides these there were about ten to twelve wounded that were brought there. I personally knew one of them was injured in the leg. Later at 6 p.m. I went from Jahangir Pura towards Kissa Khanni Bazaar. I saw English and Sikh troops posted there. No one was allowed to pass. I also saw Indian Cavalry with drawn swords pass in front of us. After this I saw no particular incident but I heard people say that British troops had killed four persons. On the 24th and 25th the city observed hartal. I do not remember if there was any hartal on the 26th April. The military troops were withdrawn probably on the 27th April. Police remained upto 27th April. There was no freedom of movement. One could neither leave the city nor enter it. Then from 27th April to 4th May there was peace and free traffic.

On the 4th May troops were again posted. No one was allowed to go from one bazaar to another. I have another shop

in Pipal Mandi but I could not go there. On the morning of 4th May the military took forcible possession of my Balakhana situated in Mewa Mandi, after removing my Chowkidar. They remained in possession for 12 or 13 days. Even we were not allowed to enter. I informed the Political Agent to this effect. Similarly they took possession of other Balakhanas. In Ram Chowk I saw mounted troops posted in front of shops and shop-keepers could not open their shops.

To the Chairman:—I am a resident of Peshawar. I am an Arhti and a banker. I pay about Rs. 600 as income-tax. I am 27 years old. I have given a statement. This is my statement and it is correct, I came from Peshawar yesterday. I had read in the Tribune that the Enquiry Committee would come. I came to give my statement. I came to give evidence voluntarily. I did not go to the place of occurrence.

To Sardar Sardul Singh:—The military did not beat any body in my presence.

To Diwan Daulat Rai:—The lanes are narrow. People used to get food stuffs from one another. The bazaars were closed. Other people have not come through fear. I came by lorry as far as Khairabad. I came by train from there. I think action will be taken against people who come to give evidence here. The people think so.

(Sd.) Diwan Singh

28-5-30

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

(Sd.) V. J. Patel

28-5-30

6

The statement of Lok Nath, son of L. Behari Lal, age 29, occupation Dentist, residence Bannu

1. On the morning of 14th May 1930 all the gates of the city were closed and nobody was allowed to go out. The city was being patrolled by the police with lathis. The Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, Superintendent of Police, Officer Commanding Frontier Constabulary and Inspector-General of Police were also patrolling the city. Outside, the city was guarded by armed military pickets and inside the city arrests were going on. The police entered the Congress Office with R. S. Chaudhri Ruchi Ram, Nimal Das, Karimdad Khan, Faquir Abdul Hasan Khan and a British officer who was Chief of the police. They tore down the sacred National Flag, and arrested all the workers and the police took possession. About forty people were arrested, of whom 20 were sent to jail. The

rest were let off after being beaten. Similarly the police took possession of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha office.

2. **The violence of the police.** Shaikh Haq Nawaz, an old man of sixty and a respectable citizen of Bannu, was a Congress worker. He was caught hold of and his Khaddar clothes were torn and I have heard that he was also beaten. His son who was a Captain of the volunteers was severely beaten with Lathis. All his clothes were torn and taken away and he was made absolutely naked and he had to hide his private parts with his hands and then he was taken in police custody. In the same way Master Kewal Ram and other Congress workers were arrested in a disgraceful manner. The Congress people were treated as especial enemies of the Government but the rest of the people were also looked upon as enemies, because they were wearing khaddar or Gandhi caps. They were mercilessly beaten by a shower of Lathi blows. They were not the ordinary lathis of the Lahore police but they were long bamboos and were regular dandas. The caps were taken off, clothes were torn so much so that there were some persons who were made absolutely naked, and they had nothing even to hide their private parts. The Pathans did not retaliate with violence, but quietly bore all this insult with patience. The Frontier Pathans who regard a knife as an ordinary weapon and who have fire-arms in their houses and who are ready to kill even for a piece of bread remained non-violent inspite of such provocation and only shouted "Inquilab Zindabad." It was all due to the spirit of Gandhi which was at work and the power of his Yog, otherwise a Pathan could not possibly have borne this.

3. Near the Gandhi Chauk there are some liquor shops. The volunteers were picketing them. Every volunteer was beaten till he became unconscious and fell down. Then the police left him. The son of Mr.Mohammad Jan, Barrister, who was a volunteer was severely beaten. Malik Akbar Ali Khan who is the owner of several villages in Bannu and for whom thousands of Hindus, Pathans and Sikhs are ready to sacrifice their lives, has a nephew who was picketing liquor shops. Mohmad Baz Khan, Sub-Inspector of Police, with his Danda Police tore off his clothes and made him unconscious by lathi blows. He then got up from the place where he had fallen and shouted "Inquilab Zindabad.' Lathi blows were again showered upon him till he fell down exhausted. In the city news spread that he was dead. When such bad treatment was meted out to the nephew of such a Malik, he was smarting under his humiliation but he was a principal worker of the Congress, and in consultation with all other Congress workers, be exhorted the people to non-violence and himself remained patient. It was said that he had been made naked also. Thousands of Pathans wanted to resort to violence,

but when the Congress people remonstrated with them, they desisted, and thus set an example. The Malik Sahib, if he had wished, could have sent several men and could have got anything done. But he did not do so. Government itself will admit that the people did not restort to violence. Nevertheless Government sent such a high personage to jail. Malik Azad Khan who is an owner of neighbouring villages was also sent to jail.

4. On 14th May 1930 all the bazaars were closed including the doctor's dispensaries. All the gates had been closed by Government and nobody could go out without a permit which was available only for Government servants. This was the state of things from the 14th to 20th. The city was full of Danda police with Lathis and nobody with khaddar cap or dress could move about with safety. Rumours were afloat that so and so had been beaten by the police to death. For example, the nephew of Malik Akbar Ali Khan, Adam Khan, Ganesha Singh, Prem Singh were so severely beaten that it was remoured in the city that they had been killed. Thinking that Adam Khan was dead he was thrown outside the city gates by the police but he survived, because the span of his life yet remained. When the shops were closed for four days the Deputy Commissioner called the Municipal Commissioners to get the bazaars opened; they threatened the people and said the Sahib Bahadur's orders were to open the shops, otherwise more violence would be used and martial law would be proclaimed and British troops called in. People replied what other martial law could there be worse than this? It was worse than bullets that the police was making them naked and beating them, the gates were closed and what could be the use of opening shops. They had to go back ashamed. People also said, shoot us but we would not open the shops while the police was beating our innocent brethren. Remove the police, open the gates and we would open the shops. The Deputy Commissioner did not open the gates of the city, so the shops remained closed for two days more. Then Malik Akbar Ali Khan sent a message from the jail and the shops were opened. During the days of hartal there was a free langar for the poor. Water facilities were made. All Bazaars were closed. For seven days the city became a desert. In the city and within ten miles outside Section 144 (Criminal Procedure Code) was applied. All meetings and processions were prohibited.

5. Upon the arrest of Malik Akbar Ali Khan and as a reply to Police violence, Sec. 144 was defied. Outside the Kasaban Gate the Pathans held a meeting in a Musjid and it was decided to hold meetings in every village to defy this Section and that the police should not be supplied with chicken, bread, egg or charpoy. Penalties were prescribed for the breach

of this. After this there was a big meeting in Mauza Daud Shah. People were absolutely peaceful. English police officers were present. On 18-5-30 there was a big meeting of Pathans in village Mama Khel. About twelve thousand Pathans were present. I have heard that 120 drums were beaten to invite people to attend the meeting. It was decided not to admit in the meeting any Pathan or other persons who had a gun, pistol or knife or even a lathi. A Government officer told me that a man who had come with a gun was obliged to go back. It shows that Pathans who are ordinarily prepared to kill one another on the slightest pretext had become non-violent and followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Instead of appreciating this, their Malik Nurai Khan and Haji Abdul Rahman Khan were also arrested. A meeting was to be held in Moza Pani in Laqqi Marwat, where a large crowd was expected and now the condition is that if you go to any village, you will hear little Pathan boys shouting the slogans "Inquilab Zindabad," "Hindustan Azad," "Police Gharkai" (Down with the police). I have been to several villages myself and in one village I asked a Pathan boy what is meant by "Inquilab Zindabad" to which he replied in Pushtu that those who are on top will go down and those who are down will come up. Police has been completely boycotted. All this is due to the violence of the police. No speeches have been made. The repression of the police has brought about this result naturally. In whole Bannu there are only five households which have not joined the Congress. Whole villages have joined the Congress movement.

Another instance of police repression. An outsider from the district of Kohat, Ram Lal by name, had a little boy who died and only four men were allowed to go with his funeral. They called the Pathans of the village to dig the grave. When they returned they were not allowed to go in. Outside in some place they had to pass the night. All this is due to the Inspector-General of Police, Isemonger, under whose instructions all the officers have to work. They have started the trouble and they were in a fix as to how the shops could be opened. The same Isemonger went to Dera Ismail Khan, which is my home, and he told the Deputy Commissioner to adopt the same policy as had been adopted in Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu. But the Deputy Commissioner, who is an Irishman, and who has been a member of the Irish Congress, and had gone to jail for three years, replied that the city was peaceful and he himself was responsible for it so that Isemonger had to come back. At the time when the police started violence there was neither any procession nor civil disobedience. All this was done to suppress the people. The result of which was that even in the Transborders Ilaqa "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" is being shouted. Flags are flying and the Frontier Government is at its

wits ends. When the people opened their shops on the 20th, the gates were opened the next day, but the police for a few days later was stationed outside, and Danda Police was patrolling the city.

I am a dentist and I qualified myself at Calcutta. I live in Bannu. I have made the statement. I realize my responsibility in making this statement which is entirely true. I don't withdraw a word of it. I realize the possible consequences of this statement of mine.

28-5-30

(Sd.) Lok Nath

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

7

The statement of L. Maya Das, son of Sardar Amar Singh, Caste Vohra, age 70 years, occupation service, residence, Bhera District, Shahpur

I am in the service of the Peshawar Civil Co-operative Society Ltd., at Peshawar for the last one and a half years. On the 22nd April 1930 when coming back from the Cantonment in the evening I saw a procession approaching. The Congress, Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Khilafat people were in the procession. I too joined the procession. It stopped very peacefully at the Chauk Yadgar. The people were asked not to be rowdy and then the people began to disperse. On the night of 22nd April certain arrests were made in the city. On the 23rd April 1930 I came to the city at about 8-30 a.m. I saw that a big crowd had gathered outside the Thana. The people had come to give a send-off to the two leaders who had been arrested. The leaders were profusely garlanded. The leaders exhorted the people to remain non-violent and to carry on the work vigorously. Subsequently the leaders went inside the Thana. As the gathering was very large and people had collected on the roads and platforms of the Thana it could not disperse immediately. All the same, it began to disperse peacefully, though slowly, according to the instructions of the leaders. At this time two machine guns came in through the Kabuli Gate without any warning. These were two armoured cars. As they came at great speed without warning several people were crushed under the cars. I myself saw 5 or 6 persons severely injured. Probably two or three had been killed. I helped in removing these dead and wounded persons. The people were dispersing and some were removing the dead and the injured when the English troops commenced firing. At this time

I saw a motor car on fire. I do not know how it caught fire. I did not see anyone setting fire to it. I did not see anyone being burnt in the car. I heard the people saying that every one should observe non-violence and not use any force in retaliation as it is the order of the leaders. People remained absolutely non-violent. In my presence no one was violent. Then I went back home. This was at about 12-30 p.m. and firing was till then going on.

On 24th April 1930 when I was proceeding in the morning to picket a liquor shop in obedience to the Congress order I was arrested on the way with five Mahommedan volunteers of the Congress, who were accompanying me near the Kabuli Gate. We were taken to the compound of the Municipal Committee. There we were made to stand in the sun. No food or water was given to us. Military was placed to guard us. In the evening we were let off. We came back to the Congress office from where we went to our homes. Next morning when I came to the city, the gate was guarded by the military and no one was allowed either to enter or leave the city. Anyone who asked for permission to enter was wounded. Upto this time violence continues on the part of the Government. Every person who comes to Rawalpindi has his name noted down by the police at the Railway Station. My name was also noted down. It is widely rumoured in the city that whosoever goes to Rawalpindi to give evidence before the Congress Enquiry Committee will be arrested. My statement has been read over to me. It is correct.

I am employed in the Peshawar Civil Co-operative Society. I belong to Bhera and am residing in Peshawar since 1916. I am a Hindu. This is my statement and I have signed it. I am a Congress volunteer since last five or six months (*Note*:—Questioned by the Chairman how an old man like him became a member of the Congress, witness stated "When Mahatma Gandhi is so old what of me.") We are directed to be non-violent. Whether non-violence may result in something or not, we are so ordered, whether we lose our lives or are shot down we will remain non-violent. Non-violence is for the freedom of the Country.

Q.' (By the Chairman). Do you believe that you will win Swaraj by non-violence?

A. Certainly, provided people wear Khaddar and remain non-violent, they will secure Swaraj within one year. Knowing this I joined the Congress. I rely on the truthfulness of Mahatmaji.

Q. Are you speaking the truth?

A. Yes. Whatever I have stated is true. I won't speak

a lie under any circumstances. Two armoured cars came, one was burnt down. I am telling the truth. I did not see anybody setting fire to it. I am not responsible for the statements of other persons.

Q. Do you know that your coming to give evidence might bring you some trouble?

A. I came down on a condolence visit and came to know that Messrs. Patel and Malaviyaji have come here. Hence I have come to give my evidence. My name was noted down by a C. I. D. man on the Peshawar Railway Station. I was asked my name and the object of my coming. I told them everything. Nobody stopped me.

Q. Do you know you might be arrested for this statement?

A. What to say of arresting me, let them shoot me. I know that there is an official Committee of Enquiry at Peshawar. Two judges have come, whoever applies and gets permission can give evidence. But only those persons are recommended, who belong to the government party, others are not called.

Q. You did not apply for giving evidence before that Committee?

A. I did not go, as I was not so ordered by the Congress.

Q. Did people throw stones or not?

A. Nobody threw stones. People were anxious about themselves. They were removing the wounded and the dead. There were no stones there. The road is pucca. There were no bricks or stones there. When the people were trampled down, all said that they should remain non-violent and the people were non-violent.

Q. What was the reason for firing?

A. Shots were fired to frighten the people so that they might run away, but the people did not move at all. Government resorted to firing simply to exonerate itself and crush the movement. I did not see any Englishman lying dead, as there was a huge crowd. I was at a distance of about one hundred yards from the armoured car. I saw the flames but did not see anybody setting fire.

To the Chairman:—I did not see any Englishman falling or dying, I was busy with our dead and wounded and in taking them away. Other witnesses might have seen an Englishman falling from the motor cycle when it came in collision with the armoured car, but I did not. They might have seen that and stated it. I was taking the wounded and the dead towards the

Congress office.

Q. (Diwan Daulatrai):—You have stated that people said not to lay hands on anybody. When did you hear this the first time?

A. When our men were trampled down under the armoured car, it was then that I heard it said by the people not to lay hands on any body.

Q. When some men were trampled down and some left for dead, did it become necessary to exhort to non-violence because some people had sticks with them?

A. No one had a stick with him.

Q. Was it on account of the fact that there were stones lying there?

A. There were no stones there. People were warned for the reason that some of our men were run over by the armoured car. I did not see anybody throwing stones. The crowd consisted of about four or five thousand people. On hearing of this incident other people came there.

Q. Did you hear anybody saying that the Government had run over several innocent persons?

A. Yes, many people were saying this. They also exhorted to non-violence. I gave my name at the Peshawar Railway Station, and said that I was going on some private business. Hence they did not stop me.

28-5-30 (Sd.) MAYA DAS

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

8

The statement of Khuda Baksh, son of Haji Mohammad Hussain, occupation Blacksmith, residence Peshawar

On the 8-4-30 we gave notice to the liquor sellers on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee to close their shops within 15 days. I am a Congress volunteer. On 12-4-30 the Congress Committee held a meeting in the Shahi Bagh and it was announced that the Congress had given 15 days' notice to the liquor sellers and that picketing would begin from 23-4-30 and also that on 15-4-30 salt would be manufactured in the Shahi Bagh. And accordingly on 15-4-30 Ali Gul Khan Jathadar and Sardar Kahan Singh and five others prepared salt. It was sold there and then in the meeting. After this on 17-4-30 all

the volunteers went to Utmanzai to attend a meeting of the Congerss. Meetings were held from 18-4-30 to 21-4-30 and they were very well attended. In these meetings the Congerss programme was explained and people exhorted to wear Khaddar. The volunteers were about 2,000 and they were all pledged to observe non-violence. The volunteers undertook to preach in favour of Khaddar. The whole territory was in favour of the Congress. On 22-4-30 we went to the Peshawar Cantonment Railway Station to welcome the Lahore leaders, but they did not come and we went in a procession to the city. And we informed the people in the town of the high-handedness of the authorities in preventing the leaders from coming. The same evening a meeting was held at 5 in the Shahi Bagh. In that meeting we condemned the Government for stopping the leaders and passed a resolution in favour of picketing. This meeting was addressed by all the leaders. They spoke in favour of picketing and exhorted the people to remain non-violent. The meeting finished at 7 and people dispersed peacefully. On the morning of 23rd April 1930 when I reached the Congress office I heard of the arrest of Paira Khan and Ali Gul Khan. During the previous night about 7 p.m. I heard of the arrest of Syed Lal Badshah and Mohammad Khan Mir Hilali. At 8 a.m. we were ordered to go to picket the liquor shops. Soon after Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Baksh Barqi came to the office and they said that they had heard that warrants were out for their arrest. Two lorries then arrived full of armed police at the Congress office. The two leaders were put in one lorry and driven away towards Kutchery Gate. S. Amar Singh Khalsa had come up and had told the leaders that the police had come with warrants and were downstairs. Thereupon the two leaders went down and gave themselves up to the police. The lorries started off but soon got punctured. The two leaders then got down and walked towards the Thana. There was a large crowd behind them. The crowd was peaceful and there was no attempt to rescue the leaders. People garlanded the leaders on the way. Followed by the crowd the leaders arrived at the Thana at the Kabuli Gate. But the police closed the door of the Thana and did not allow the leaders to enter. I was also with the leaders. The crowd was peaceful. The leaders then asked the crowd to disperse and directed them to adhere to the Congress programme. The people replied that they would disperse after the leaders had gone inside the Thana. I heard Mr. Said Ullah Khan, Magistrate, asking the police to open the door. I then saw the leaders go in. Then the people began to disperse. There was a hartal in the city on that day because of the arrests. I then saw an armoured car coming through Kabuli Gate into the city. It was coming at a high speed. It rushed into the crowd and several persons were crush-

ed and some were injured. There was an Englishman on a motor cycle behind this armoured car. I saw the armoured car move backward. When it backed a little the motor cycle collided with it and the English rider fell down and the armoured car went over him. Nobody attacked him. I would have seen it if anyone had attacked him.

I did not see any of the crowd with a stick, etc. in his hand. They were all unarmed. I saw two persons come out of the car. They went into the Thana. Then I heard the order to fire. The armoured car then began to fire. When the firing commenced the armoured car was not on fire. I then went away to the Congress office. I then informed people in the office. After this there was no disturbance in the city upto 4th May. On the 4th May at about 4 a.m. English troops raided the Congress office. They removed everything from the office, including cash. Before this the Congress Committee, Peshawar, had begun the investigation about the affairs of the 23rd April and incidents thereafter. Statements of the injured and relatives of the dead had been taken by the Committee and the papers relating to it were in the Congress office. These statements related to those persons whose names are in the bulletin. Because those papers were removed during the Military raid I cannot produce them. The volunteers who were present at the time of the raid, were brought down on the street; two were arrested and the rest were beaten with butt-ends of the rifles and were bayonetted. Upto now the military is in occupation of the city and puts people to trouble. Some soldiers enter the lanes and women are also not spared and assaulted. This has caused discontent amongst the people.

To the Chairman:—I have given a statement which is absolutely correct. The British troops came into the Congress office on the 4th May 1930. They took away the enquiry report which was in the office. That report contained only a list of the wounded people and of those who died. The Congress issued a bulletin about the incidents of 23rd April, 1930. About 300 copies were turned out daily. Twelve such bulletins were issued. Thirteenth and fourteenth bulletins could not be issued. The press was asked to furnish security. Hence our inability to issue more bulletins.

To Mufti Sahib:—A roughly written bulletin was taken into possession by the police. The manuscript copies of the same were stuck at two or four places.

To the Chairman:—I came here yesterday. I had heard that the Committee (the Patel Committee) would arrive at Rawalpindi on the 27th May 1930. That is the reason why I have come here. We encountered a good many difficulties in coming over here. All the relevent papers that we have been

successful in bringing over here have been brought through somebody else. Partap Singh had only a few papers with him; and because of this he has been sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment. So I have heard. Nobody knows in which jail he is kept. Throughout my journey I have been shadowed by four C. I. D. men in the Railway train; but they did not dare to search me. The police did not take down my name, etc. at the Peshawar Railway Station. They did not do that because I am known to them. The Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government is holding its sittings at Peshawar. We are not in a position to give evidence before that Committee because the Deputy Commissioner has announced that those who are desirous of giving evidence before the Committee should give the same before a Magistrate first. Amar Singh was a member of our Congress Committee. When he saw, with the police, warrants of arrests against the leaders, he handed the leaders over to the Police. Amar Singh went after the lorry on foot. When the Congress office was searched by the English soldiers on 4th May 1930, the volunteers were taken down and surrounded by English soldiers. The English soldiers were kicking the volunteers. They also kicked me. Mohammad Usman Khan and Achraj Ram were arrested on the same day.

Q. Who burnt down the armoured Car?

A. I was not there at that time. I had gone to the office to inform about the firing. The armoured car was not on fire when the order to fire was given. The Englishman on the motor cycle was crushed to death under the armoured car. I saw only one armoured car. It was this car that fired on the people. Eight persons were there and then crushed to death under the armoured car, and six persons were seriously injured. Some people from the crowd stepped forward to take away their dead comrades; and I went back to the office.

Q. Is it correct that many people threw stones on the armoured car?

A. I did not see any one throw stones. I have seen many of those who were wounded. I asked them to come here and give evidence. They told me that they had received Rs. 20|- each from the Government who had warned them that they would be shot down if they consented to give evidence before the Committee appointed by the Congress at 'Pindi. No one has threatened me because they know that these threats cannot influence me. They sent for my father on the 20th May 1930, and he was made to sit there the whole day. He was asked as to where I was. I was told this by Lt. Gul Mohammad. The people of my Mohalla also told me the same thing.

Q. (Lala Duni Chand):—What was the number of dead and injured whose names were registered?

A. This is the bulletin and from information received after

publication of the bulletin hundred more names were received over and above those in the bulletin. These names were entered in the register. This number is besides the number contained in the published bulletin. This register was taken away by the English soldiers on the 4th May 1930. The press refused to print that. The English soldiers took it away on the same day.

Q. Will those people who are leaders and know everything about these incidents come here to give evidence?

A. How could the leaders come? They have been arrested. One or two who have not yet been arrested don't come because they are afraid of the authorities.

28-5-30 (Sd.) KHUDA BAKSH

Read over and signed by the witness in the presence of the Committee.

(Sd.) V. J. PATEL

28-5-30

9

The statement of Sheikh Farahim, son of Shaikh Ibrahim, caste Qureshi, age 39 years, occupation Billiard fitter residence Sadar, Peshawar

I am a member of the volunteer corps of the Congress. The Congress Committee and the volunteers had no connection whatsoever with Bolshevik movement, no agitation whatsoever was done by the Congress Committee at Peshawar with regard to opposition to the Sarda Act. The Congress Committee has nothing to do with it as it is a religious question. Congress directed workers to carry out its programme by peaceful and non-violent methods. In obedience to the Congress creed as explained in a public meeting organized by the Congress we started picketing liquor shops on 23rd. I was posted in front of the liquor shop in the Kabuli Gate. Before I went for picketing, Ali Gul Khan, Lala Paira Khan, Secretary, Peshawar Congress Committee, Lal Badshah, Rahim Bux Ghaznavi, Moulvi Abdul Rahim, etc., had been arrested. On their arrest people observed hartal of their own accord. When I was going for picketing, on the way I saw Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Alla Bux Barqui going towards the Thana of the Kabuli Gate. There were many people with them. I went to picket the liquor shop of the Kabuli Gate, and they went towards the Thana. After a short while I saw armoured cars enter through the Kabuli Gate. They were coming at a great speed. They did not give any warning to the people. Then I saw Congress and Khilafat volunteers bringing the dead. After a short while several shots were fired from the armoured

car. After some time British soldiers came and opened fire in all directions. For three hours the firing went on. Even women and children were hit. I saw one woman and one child being shot. Both were killed on the spot. At about 3 o'clock I was arrested with my companion, Ali Haidar Shah, and taken to a place behind the Municipal Library. They kept me standing there, in the sun up to 6 o'clock; in the hot sun, without food and water, nor was I permitted to talk to my companion. Afterwards I was handed over to the police who took me outside and released me. On or about 4th May in the morning, the British soldiers beat and injured the Congress volunteers from the Committee office up to the Gurdwara. They used batons, butt-ends of rifles and kicked them with their boots. They also carried away the whole property of the Congress, including cash.

To the Chairman:—The statement read over to me is correct I missed certain things in my statement. I want them to be recorded now. On the 24th April 1930, for the second time I, accompanied by my companion, went to the Kabuli Gate to picket the liquor shops. I was on the third duty. Four volunteers had been arrested before me. The military arrested six of us and took us to the Municipal Library. We were made to stand in the sun from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. We were not supplied with water nor with food, nor were we allowed to talk with each other. If we attempted to speak to one another we were beaten with the butt-end of the rifles. At 7 p.m. they let us out through the back door of the Municipal Library and thus turned us out of the city. From 25th April 1930, to 18th May 1930, we were made to attend the Thana every day. We used to be kept there till very late in the night (i.e., 12 mid-night or 1 a.m.) After that we were released to go home. On the day when I was released I was photographed. No. 316 was printed on a piece of paper which was pinned on my body and two persons stood behind me holding an unfolded blanket so that no other person may be photographed at the same time. There was a bucket (used by prisoners) near my feet. Now they have stopped sending for us every day. So I could come to Rawalpindi. I saw seven or eight bodies of persons run over by the car being carried away by the volunteers. Where I was standing I could see the armoured car. The liquor shop was about 50 paces from there. I do not know if the car was set fire to by anyone. I saw the car on fire from a distance of 50 to 60 paces. I am a Congress volunteer.

Q. How many persons were killed by firing?

A. Approximately from 200 to 300. I saw with my own eyes about 50 or 60 dead bodies. The Congress made a list of the dead and the wounded. I think there were 300

on the list. All these papers and money and uniforms were taken away by the military on 4th May, 1930 and burnt. We were told by the people that the uniforms etc., were being burnt outside the gate.

28-5-30 (Sd.) SHEIKH FARAHIM

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

10

The statement of Hukam Chand, son of Gurdit Mal, caste Dugal Khatri, occupation Arhat and Landlord, residence Mohalla Kakran, Peshawar

On 23-4-30 at about 9 or 10 a.m. I started to fetch my daughter from the school, because a large crowd had collected at the Kabuli Gate and for this reason many girls had already returned. I too went to bring my daughter. The girls school is located near the Kabuli Gate. On reaching the school, I learnt that my daughter had already gone home. I stood in the crowd. The crowd had collected as two leaders who had come to surrender themselves into police custody were standing at the police station, Kabuli Gate. The police station gate was closed. The whole crowd was peaceful. National cries were occasionally raised. Meanwhile the police wicket gate opened and the two leaders were taken in. After the leaders' arrest the crowd raised the national slogan (Bande Mataram) to express joy at the arrest of the leaders. But the crowd was otherwise perfectly peaceful as before. The crwod began to disperse after the arrest. Some people were also coming from the city. Meanwhile two armoured cars running at an enormous speed entered the Kabuli Gate from the Cantonment side, one after the other. A motor cycle driven by a European was travelling between the two armoured cars. All the three vehicles were at a distance from each other. The first armoured car recklessly passed over the people crushing them under the wheels. No horn was sounded. It stopped after a little distance. 8 or 9 persons were crushed under the car. All the three conveyances were coming at a very fast speed. I saw the motor cycle vehemently colliding with the back part of the first armoured car and the European riding the motor cycle fall down. A voice was shortly after heard giving the order to shoot. The voice was of a European and came from the police station side. The sight of the people being crushed caused excitement among the crowd but it remained perfectly peaceful in my presence. They were saying that the oppressors had crushed to death inno-

cent people without warning. I saw, with my own eyes, people being crushed under the armoured car. I also saw the motor cyclist falling down. Hearing the people complaining, the volunteers exhorted the people to have courage and to remain peaceful. I ran away in fear as I had heard the order to open fire. After I had gone a little distance, I heard from behind the sound of firing from armoured cars. Those sounds were heard throughout the day from the same quarter. Military pickets were posted throughout the city which remained for two days. The citizens had to face extraordinary hardships as all movements were forcibly stopped. If any body was obliged to come out, under compulsion for something, he was beaten.

A large majority of the citizens and cattle were made to face forced starvation throughout the period the city was under military pickets as they were totally stopped from coming out of their houses. If any body came out, it was on deserted and out of the way roads and that too secretly. Two days later, the military and the police were withdrawn from the city. The city was abandoned with gates open and left unprotected. The Khilafat and Congress volunteers later on closed the city gates. It was rumoured that all this had been done with a view to offer an opportunity to the neighbouring and independent tribes to plunder the city and it is alleged that they were even persuaded to do so but they refused. The volunteers arranged for the protecton of the city for 2 or 3 days. During this interval perfect peace prevailed. After that the police took charge of the city.

Two or three days passed peacefully. Meanwhile fire occurred in Dhakki Dalgaran at night, of which I heard the following morning. I started for the scene of occurrence, but I found armed soldiers posted in all directions, who were stopping all movement. So I was obliged to return home. For three or four days again cattle and a large majority of the citizens had to face starvation. They could not come out of their houses. The city continues in military occupation even now. The citizens on coming out of their housese were wounded with bayonets, butt-ends of rifles and lathis and are still occasionally subjected to the same treatment. I have seen all this with my own eyes. I have seen the son of Gopi, residing near my Mohalla, prostrate with bayonet wound. He told me he had been wounded by a British soldier's bayonet. Throughout the period when Military pickets were posted in the city nobody was allowed access to the public places of worship.

Thus the Mohammadans could not go out even for Id prayers due to the presence of the troops. The Government Communique that facilities had been provided for Muhamadans on the occasion of Id prayers had absolutely no reality in prac-

tice, as the Military was still obstructing all the passages. Such terrorism prevailed that no one dared to open the shutters of their balconies. If anybody did so the British soldiers threw stones. Out of my acquaintances L. Daswandhi Mal and my tenant Malang were killed, having been crushed under the armoured cars. Malang's legs were crushed under the wheels of the car and he had bullet wounds on his chest and temple. I saw both of them in the condition mentioned above. People wanted to come in large numbers to appear as witnesses before this Enquiry Committee but they cannot come owing to the harassment by the police and the C. I. D.; and so many went back from the Railway station when harassed. For the same reason I travelled for 27 miles in different ways and caught the train at Nowshera Railway Station. Men from among the public are not allowed to appear as witnesses before the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government till their statements are previously approved of by the District Magistrate; and this fact has been declared by beat of drum throughout the city by the authorities that statements before the magistrate are absolutely necessary prior to the evidence before the Official Committee and that nobody can appear before that tribunal till his statement is approved of by the District Magistrate. Hence only Government men can have access to that Committee for giving evidence.

To the Chairman:—I have read my statement, it is true. I did not see any armoured car burning. I had left. I heard the order for shooting. There was no fire till that time. Seven or eight persons must have perished under the armoured car. Daswandi Mal died in my presence. Malang died after he had been taken to his house. I do not know how many died or were wounded. I could not count. I am not a member of the Congress. I pay income tax to the amount of Rs. 250|-. Previously, I used to pay Rs.350|-. We are residents of Peshawar since generations. If the Government arrests me for giving this evidence, what does it matter. Am I more precious to the country than you are?

Q. Did you see stones being thrown on the armoured car?

A. I did not see. When the order for firing was given I stepped back.

Q. When did you come here?

A. I came just now by the Frontier Mail. I came by names of persons at the Peshawar Railway Station. I therefore lorry from Peshawar to Nowshera, from where I came by Railway train, because I was told that the police notes down the came by lorry upto Nowshera.

Q. Did the arrested persons say anything?

A. Yes, they asked the people to remain non-violent. When the armoured car came people were standing. Leaders had then entered the Thana. Some people were coming, others were going. Had the armoured car not arrived for five or seven minutes more people would have dispersed peacefully. The armoured car did not sound any horn or give any warning and even the people near about it were not aware of its approach.

To Lala Duni Chand:—I saw the man on the motor cycle falling down after colliding with the first armoured car.

To Sardar Sardul Singh:—I saw the man on the motor cycle; he was wearing Khaki military dress.

28-5-30 (Sd.) HUKAM CHAND

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

11

The statement of Lala Diwan Chand, son of the late L. Daswandhi Lal, age 23, occupation Arthi, residence Peshawar City

On 23-4-30 because of the arrests there was a hartal in the city. My father went out to his shop in the Mewa Mandi just to speak to the Pathans who were expected to be there. I had to go to my other shop to get my letters. I went to Kissa Khani and saw a huge crowd. I saw the armoured cars from far. Dead bodies were being brought. I saw the dead body of my father being brought by about ten people of whom only two were Hindus. One side of his body was absolutely crushed. Blood was coming out of his nose and mouth. My father was not a member of the Congress and never took any part in politics. We could not take his body for cremation on 23-4-30 because the city was under military control and five people could not go together. The next day R. S. Meher Chand and Mr. Aurangzeb Khan came to our house and told us that we could take the body with ten people and we took out his body. When we reached the Assamai Gate, it was shut and R. S. Meher Chand got it opened with great difficulty.

To Sardar Sardul Singh:—No post mortem examination of my father was made. Examination was made by a doctor to ascertain if there was any life in him. The Doctor said that there was no life in him. My father was crushed under the armoure car. Doctor Mohkam Chand examined him. Dr. Pyare Lal also examined. There was no bullet wound on his body. Ten men had brought my father. Of these two were Hindus whose names are Acharj Ram and Karam Chand.

28-5-30 (Sd.) DEWAN CHAND

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

12 & 13

The statements of Hamid Shah, son of Malik Shah, caste Pathan, age 30 years, occupation Zamindar, Tal, District Kohat; and Allah Baksh, son of Ali Mardan, Awan, age 25 years, Hakim by profession, residence Tal, District Kohat

1. When warrants for the arrest of the Congress workers of Tal were issued the Congress Committee came to know of it. Malik Sahib Sher Zaman, President Congress Committee sent word to the Sub-Inspector of Police at Tal that no military or Border Police was required for their arrest, he himself should come with the warrants and they all will willingly accompany him. There will be no fuss about the matter.

2. On the afternoon of 13-5-30 Sub-Inspector of Police, Tal, came and arrested Malik Sher Zaman, President, Dr. Gurditta Mal Arya Hakim, Vice-President, Maulana Habib Gul, Secretary, Gulab Khan, Captain, volunteers and Mir Mohamad, Chief Officer of the Khilafat Committee, Tal. After their arrest a procession was taken out. Military under a European Officer was standing on the road near the Frontier Constabulary Fort with bayonets. Assistant Commissioner, Hangu, was also present there. The procession returned from near the Frontier Constabulary and ended in a meeting near Motor Stand. In that meeting Malik Sher Zaman, President, Congress Committee and others were offered congratulations on their arrests. The meeting then dispersed peacefully. The same night at about 9 or 10 p.m. another meeting was held. In that meeting Noor Din was elected as President, Mir Baz Khan, Vice-President and Kishore Lal as Secretary and about sixty volunteers were enlisted late at night.

3. On the morning of 14-5-30 the military from the Tal Fort and the Shiah Frontier Constabulary beseiged the town of Tal. The procession was taken out under orders of the President, Noor Din. The procession while going through the Bazaar was just passing by the Police Chowki, Tal, when President Noor Din, Mir Baz Khan, Vice-President, Kishori Lal, Secretary, Udi Rang Havaldar, Sikandar Shah, volunteer and Sher Dil, volunteer and Ali Ahmad, volunteer, were arrested. The procession went upto the Motor Stand and then returned, when the Frontier Constabulary surrounded the procession and began to belabour them with lathis. Men of the Frontier Constabulary

had come on motor lorries prepared with lathies from Hangu. Names of those who were injured seriously are as follows:— Chowdri Dutt Chand, Nure Darzi volunteer, Nurak volunteer, Gulab Shah Subedar, Mir volunteer, Hussan Shah Darzi, Member Khilafat Committee, Zakim Shah volunteer, Nure volunteer, Gul Ahzam volunteer, Gulam Haidar volunteer, Karam Chand volunteer, Mr. Lal Chand, volunteer. All of them had serious injuries on their heads and shoulders. Other people also received lathi blows though they were not injured. Lungis and money which fell from the people were taken hold of by the constables. The constables broke also a drum and threw it down. Duli Chand Mir vounteer and Gulab Shah are still at their homes. Their wounds are not healed upto now other wounded are better. After that a procession was taken out every third or fourth day.

4. Assistant Commissioner, Hangu, came to Tal. He sent for the Maliks, Lambardars and insulted them. He asked them to stop the Congress-work. If they would not they would be deprived of all official and licensed rifles. Their houses would be searched. He also asked the Hindu Chowdhris to leave the Congress, otherwise he would have them looted by the Waziris. As the Maliks and Chowdhris are very respectable persons, we, the Congressmen were much pained when they were so insulted. These Maliks and Chowdhris cannot stop the Congress movement, why should they be troubled unnecessarily by the Government. The result of this insult offered by the Assistant Commissioner, Hangu, was that the shopkeepers of Tal who were residents of the place removed their goods to their houses and left only a small portion of it in their shops. The travelling shopkeepers removed their stuff to suitable places of their choice. Many of the latter left Tal with their children. The people of Tal are panic-stricken. Malik Sher Zaman, President, Congress Committee and others are lying in Police custody at Hangu since the last 16 days. No date is fixed. They are not provided with good food. Sixteen days have passed and their clothes must be stinking on account of heat. Some of them are ill. They want Quran Sharif for recitation.

6. The new President, Noor Din and the others are seven in all. They are confined in a very narrow lock-up since the last 15 days.

7. On 26th May, 1930, Asal Din and three other persons applied to the Assistant Commissioner, Hangu, that Malik Sher Zaman, President and other persons are confined in lock-up since the last sixteen days, their clothes must have become very dirty and must be smelling on account of heat and that some of them were ill. Morover they stand in need of Quran Sharif, the petitioners may be allowed to supply them new clothes,

treatment for their ailments and that the prisoners be allowed to recite Quran. No reply was given to this though the petitioners waited from morning till evening. They returned to the city helpless. The Congress Committee is doing its work quite peacefully.

To the Chairman:—The statement is read over to me. I admit its correctness. This is a joint statement of mine and Hamid Shah. I wrote it myself. Had we brought it from that place and Government had got a clue that we were coming here, they would not have allowed us to come. Since 13-5-30 Malik Sher Zaman, President, Congress Committee, is in custody. Tal is in Kohat District. Tal is a village in Hangu Tahsil. Two Presidents of our Congress Committee have been arrested. One was arrested on 14-5-30. He was tortured by the police. The other was arrested on 13-5-30. We appointed the second President on the evening of 13-5-30 and Hamid Shah was elected on the evening of 14-5-30. Seven persons were arrested on 14-5-30, and five on 13-5-30. They included the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Captain Volunteer Corps and one prominent member of the Khilafat Committee on 13-5-30. On 14-5-30 one President, one vice-President, one Secretary, one Havaldar of the volunteer corps and three volunteers were arrested. There was a procession of volunteers. They were surrounded by the Border Police, and lathi blows were showered on them. An aged Chowdhri was severely beaten. I saw him injured. Police gave them a beating to frighten them and to make them leave the Congress. The procession was taken out on 14-5-30 because the city was besieged by the Border Police and the military. One of the gates of the city was not closed. When the procession passed through the gate it was closed.

To Sirdar Sardul Singh:—High-handedness displayed on 14-5-30 was this that the Border police used lathis freely and gave severe beating and several arrests were made from the processionists.

To the Chairman:—We had no weapons with us, as we were not ordered to be violent; rather we were ordered to be non-violent. We were ordered not to return the blows inflicted upon us but to remain peaceful. Pir Shahinshah, President of the Kohat Congress Committee, came to Tal on 8-5-30. People of Tal had invited him. He was accompanied by three other persons. He gave a public lecture there and on 9-5-30 a Congress Committee was appointed in Tal. We elected our own office-holders. Pathans generally pay their assailants in their own coin. They become violent on the slightest provocation. But now on account of the influence of the Congress they are exercising extreme self-control and they strictly adhere

to the non-violent creed of the Congress and suffer everything patiently. We have heard the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

Q. Who is he?

A. He is the greatest leader of the Congress. His order is to remain non-violent. If we are so ordered by the Congress we would retaliate with violence when violence was used.

Q. Do you like violence or non-violence?

A. Whatever leads to success and whatever brings complete freedom for us.

Q. What do you think, whether violence will bring freedom or non-violence?

A. My idea is that the Government has brought great pressure upon us by resorting to force. We will do what Congress leaders order us to do. We believe that the means adopted by the Congress are bound to succeed and will certainly bring freedom.

28-5-30 (Sd.) Allah Bakhsh

(Sd.) Hamid Shah

Read over to both the witnesses. It has been written by one of them Allah Baksh and signed by both.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

14

The statement of Ram Lubhaya, son of Nathu Mal, age 35 years, occupation Passari, residence Peshawar City

I have been a member of the Peshawar City Congress Committee since 1919. I was present when the leaders Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Bakhsh Barqi arrived at the 'A' Division Thana. They were standing outside the Thana on the steps, the doors of which were closed. The crowd was peaceful. Then Saidullah Khan, Magistrate, got the wicket gate of the door opened and the leaders went in. Before they went in they exhorted the people to follow Gandhi and asked them to disperse. The people began to disperse. At that time armoured cars arrived. They were travelling at an excessive speed. I then saw Lala Daswandhi Ram being run over by the car. About 14 others were also run over of whom seven or eight died. The rest were injured. I and a Pathan, whom I do not know, removed Lala Daswandhi Ram on to one side. He spoke to me and died almost immediately after. The armoured car then backed, and while doing so struck against the motor cycle. The The rider was thrown down and was run over by the armoured car. I did not see him being attacked by the crowd. I was in a position to see everything. I noticed that Lala Daswandhi Ram had money in his pocket. I cannot say how much. The

crew of the first armoured car came out and began to beat me and they did not let us remove the dead. Then I came by a circuitous route, and came behind the crowd which was in Kissa Khani Bazar. Then I saw the crowd go forward to remove their dead. I did not see any one interfere with this for a little while. Then suddenly I heard firing going on. The people began to disperse. I then noticed the first car on fire. It certainly was after the firing had begun. Then a fire engine came to the spot to put out the fire. While this was happening British soldiers arrived. They began to fire and people fell back. They fired at every one they saw there, or, who came in their way. On this I went away to my house.

The next morning the whole city was full of military which was withdrawn for about three days and the Congress volunteers took charge of the city. The police took charge of the city on the evening of 27th April. On 4th May the city was re-occupied by the military.

The office of the Congress was raided and after the raid I went there and found that everything had been removed by the military.

The city has been in the hands of the military, who have indiscriminately been assaulting people, irrespective of their age or sex.

None can go about with Gandhi caps. They have taken charge of the Khaddar Bhandar. Some shops were looted by the European soldiers.

There were about 2,000 or 2,500 people outside the Thana on 23rd April, 1930, when the cars arrived. The place was so crowded that people could not have got out of the way even if they had tried.

The Frontier government has always been opposed to all forms of freedom and they could not bear to see the success of the Gandhi movement.

The Congress appointed an Enquiry Committee consisting of Dr. Ghosh, Mr. Pir Baksh, Pleader, Lala Radha Kishan, Vakil, Mr. Abdul Rub Mukhtiar, Vakil, and Sayed Kassim Jan. All the members of this Committee were arrested within a few days of their appointment for the only reason that no enquiry may be possible.

I fear that the Frontier Government will harm me for having given this statement. All the same I am giving this statement so that justice may be vindicated.

To the Chairman:—Firing started before the armoured car caught fire. I do not know nor have I seen how the armoured car caught fire. The bazar was closed due to Hartal. Where were oil and matches? I had nothing in my hand, nor had

others anything. I saw some persons throwing small pebbles towards the armoured cars. First shooting started and then stones were thrown. First the armoured cars ran into the crowd. Some fourteen persons were run over. The stones were thrown after these persons had been run over by the armoured cars. They were not stones but were small pebbles. These small stones were thrown by irresponsible persons, who ceased throwing when asked to do so. The public in general stopped them. No one was struck by any stone. They took the leaders inside the police station. The crowd was dispersing of its own accord. Those persons who were new arrivals were made to return by the public. If the armoured cars had not been brought on the scene the crowd would have dispersed in 10 or 15 minutes. Had a warning been given or horn sounded the crowd would have dispersed very soon.

Q. What was the cause of shooting?

A. Shooting was resorted to in order to suppress the people of the Frontier.

To Lala Duni Chand:—Those who were carrying the dead bodies were at first not prevented. The dead bodies were of persons who were run over by the armoured car. Afterwards when firing began even persons who were carrying the bodies were fired upon. Some two hundred or two hundred and fifty died and the number of the wounded must also have been approximately the same. I do not know the exact number. Some 70 or 80 persons are missing. The dead bodies that were recovered by the people were noted in the Congress bulletin. People saw dead bodies floating in the Kabul River, three or four days after the day of occurrence. They could not be identified. I am a member of the Congress. I joined in 1919.

To Lala Dunichand:—The leaders were arrested in order to suppress the Congress movement.

Q. Is it true that the Congress people conspired with a Haji from outside?

A. This is absolutely wrong. People who come from foreign territory know that the Government has got aeroplanes and great strength, and they cannot fight against Government. They have joined with us in the boycott of foreign cloth, and the boycott of tea, sugar, medicines and other foreign goods. They are with Gandhi's movement. I know this because I sell indigenous drugs, and the people who come to me say that they will not use English medicines and other English goods.

28-5-30 (Sd.) RAM LUBHAYA

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

15

The statement of Gul Bax Khan, son of Behram Shah, Pathan, age 40 years, occupation Zamindar, residence Darasmand City, Kohat District

There was a rumour afloat at Darasmand that some of the leaders had been arrested at Tal. As a mark of protest against the repressive policy of the administration we took out a Congress procession on 14-5-30. A day or two later the arrest of Qazi Mohmad Hussain Shah, President, Congress Committee, was ordered and he himself went to the police station at once and surrendered himself for arrest. The following morning a Congress procession was taken out to protest against the repressive policy of the Government. The procession congratulated the Qazi Sahib and bade him farewell as he was being taken by the police to Hangu. The procession peacefully returned. While departing, the Qazi asked the people to remain perfectly peaceful in obedience to the Congress mandate, and even if one policeman came to arrest, to gladly surrender for arrest and to go with him. Also to remain non-violent in spite of extreme violence and to continue the Congress propaganda. On 21-5-30 the troops coming from Kohat, Hangu and Tal besieged the entire city of Darasmand at 2 a.m. and posted military pickets even on the hill tops. Ingress and egress from the city were strictly prohibited. The Assistant Commissioner was present at Darasmand. He sent for all the Lambardars of the city and humiliated them and demanded the Congress Flag and volunteers' belts. He also demanded the dissolution of the Congress and ordered that a Khilafat Committee may be established instead, in which he said, he himself would join. He said that in case we surrendered to him the Congress Flag and volunteers' belts, he would not search our houses. To avoid our houses being searched, we surrendered three belts of Congress volunteers and three belts of Khilafat volunteers. The Assistant Commissioner returned the Khilafat volunteers' belts and kept the Congress belts. He demanded more of the Congress belts and also the Congress Flag. We said that we had not the Congress Flag and no more Congress belts. He got enraged and started for house searches. On his way he came across a group of boys wearing the Congress belts. On seeing the Assistant Commissioner they went into the Mosque and there removed their belts and placed them under the Quran. The Mosque was searched under the orders of the Assistant Commissioner; and the Frontier police took away the belts. Thereafter the house of Qazi Mohamad Hussain, President of the Congress Committee, was the first one to be searched. The office was also searched but nothing was discovered. All the houses be-

longing to Madi Khel tribe were searched but nothing was discovered. The Congress Flag and belts were not found in any house. A woman had died in the evening, preceding the night when the troops had beseiged the city. The Assistant Commissioner refused permission next morning to bury the dead body in the grave-yard situated outside the city; and remarked that he would not give permission till we surrendered the Congress Flag and the belts. The dead body remained there for the whole day thus humiliated and was at last buried in the evening after permission had been granted. Nitwithstanding all this provocation, the people remained peaceful and did not surrender the National Flag, belts, etc. After searching the houses the Assistant Commissioner went to Dari, to the top of the hillock. On arrival there he sent for me, Ghulam Mohamad Yaqub Khan, Sar Baz Khan and others, and also all the Lambardars and said that we people were following the swine of a Qazi (Qazi Khanzee) and were obeying him. If we had not been strictly ordered by the Congress to observe non-violence we would not have tolerated such an insult to our leader. Thereafter Malik Gul Badshah, Mir Gul Shah, Lambardar, Zaman Khan, Mir Khan, Kadir Khan, Ghazi Khan, Ayyaz Khan, Allah Nur Khan, Latu Mir Khan and Mohamad Khan, all Congressmen, were arrested but were released at 3 p.m. on 9th or 10th. The others arrested were sent to Doaba police station where they are still in police custody and so far no prosecution has been started against them. No interviews with them are permitted. It is said that they are made to suffer all sorts of hardships to force them to resign from the Congress and to tender an apology but they are bearing all hardships. On the same Dari hillock, drums, etc., were sent for and broken so as to deprive the people of their means of making announcements for public gatherings.

After house searches and before going to the Dari, the Assistant Commissioner went to the shop of Asmand, tailor, and abused him for sewing the belts for the volunteers and broke his sewing machine by throwing it down. 50 constables of the Frontier police are still present at Darasmand as punitive police, but we still take out peaceful Congress processions at night. At night the Police do not dare to snatch the Flag. Congress public meetings are held every Friday. People are requested to be peaceful, nevertheless Government violence is increasing every day. As we are followers of Islamic Shariat, we dislike the Sarda Act and we refuse to recognise it. But we have joined the Congress movement because the Congress has declared itself for the freedom of the Country. It is 11 or 12 days since the Qazi Sahib was arrested, but he is still kept in police custody. He is neither prosecuted nor released. We have heard that he is being subjected to unbearable hardships, which is causing extreme excitement in our city, but due to the Congress mandate,

we are bearing everything. The people think the same treatment is being accorded to other arrested persons.

Examination of Gulbaz Khan

To the Chairman:—My name is Gulbaz Khan, my father's name is Meram Shah—occupation Zamindar—I am a resident of Darsmand, District Kohat, Tehsil Hangu. My age is 40; my caste Pathan. The statement has been read over to me. I admit it to be correct. Both the thumb marks are mine. One is not clear. Therefore the other has been put. There are 500 houses in Darasmand. Darasmand is a village in the Tehsil Hangu. A Congress Committee has been formed in our village since a month. It was after about ten days when the Congress Committee was formed that the arrests commenced. About two hundred persons became members of the Congress. Before the arrest of the President, the membership was 80. After the arrest it reached upto 200. There was one President and one Secretary. There were eight members of the Working Committee. The President and eight members, in all nine persons, were arrested.

28-5-30. Thumb mark of **Gul Baz Khan**

Read out to the witness who has put his thumb impression in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

16

Examination of Latu Mir Khan

To the Chairman:—My name is Latu Mir Khan. My father's name is Feroz Khan. I am a Pathan. My age is 50 years. I am an agriculturist. I live in Darasmand, district Kohat. My statement has been read over to me. It is correct. The answers which Gul Baz Khan has given to the questions are correct. The same are my answers.

28-5-30 Thumb impression of **Latu Mir Khan**

Read out to the witness who has put his thumb impression in the presence of the committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

17

The statement of Ali Badshah, son of Nadir Shah Afghan, age 55 years, President, Khilafat Committee, Hangu, District Kohat

With a view to establish a Congress Committee, we held public meetings at Hangu on 5th, 6th and 7th May 1930, but the Congress Committee could not be brought into being in the meetings. On the following morning the Assistant Commissioner

sent for Ghulam Mohamad Khan, Maulvi Karam Shah, Ghulam Haider Khan, Hamaish Gul, Jan Mohmad Khan and myself and enquired if we intended establishing a Congress Committee, to which we replied in the affirmative and said that it could not be done owing to the non-arrival of certain persons. The Assistant Commissioner said that he would exert his influence to the utmost to see that no Congress Committee was established and oppose our efforts to organise one. This ended the interview. The following morning a messenger came to inform me that I was required by the Secretary, Khilafat Committee. On reaching there I was informed by the Secretary that a man from the Sub-Inspector had been to him to intimate the orders of the Assistant Commissioner for producing the Flag that had been hoisted at the public meeting. As it was a Congress Flag we refused to surrender the Flag. On 24th May 1930, I went to Tal district Kohat, and found the people much excited against the authorities. The people stated that Congress volunteers and a Hindu (stranger) had been seriously wounded by the Frontier police, but the public had exercised utmost restraint as they had strict instructions from the Congress to remain absolutely non-violent. The same day at 3 o'clock I went to Darasmand City, District Kohat. I was told that the Assistant Commissioner had badly abused the Lambardars and other respectables as they had taken out a Congress Flag Procession. The Assistant Commissioner demanded the surrender of the Congress Flag and the volunteers' belts and equipments. He confiscated the Government Rifles that had been given to the citizens and licensed guns also met the same fate. They also confiscated the shot guns not requiring a license. The Assistant Commissioner, himself visited the tailor's shops who had prepared the volunteers' belts and broke two machines after abusing him in the presence of a large number of spectators. He also destroyed three drums and two trumpets used for collecting the people. The following morning I returned home.

Q. (Chairman). Are you running any National School there?

A. Yes, I am running a National School. The statement has been read out to me. I accept it to be true. Because the Government put pressure upon the Sunnis and the Shiahs, a Congress Committee could not be established.

Q. Who asked you to establish a Congress Committee?

A. Because the Congress stands for and tries to achieve communal unity, therefore I made up my mind to establish a Congress Committee. At first Shiahs and Hindus also intended to establish a Congress Committee, but gave it up afterwards under pressure from the Government. I am a Zamindar. I used to be a contractor. I have bought land worth ten thousand rupees. But it is not cultivated. I gave up taking contracts during the

non-cooperation movement about ten years ago. I have not had to face any difficulty while coming this side because we have come secretly.

Q. How far is your village from the Frontier?

A. Only fifteen miles away.

28-5-30 (Sd.) ALI BADSHAH

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

28-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

18

The statement of Abdul Karim Khan Afridi, son of Abdul Rahman, Sipa Khail, age 42, occupation shop-keeper, residence Peshawar City

On account of the announcement of the Sarda Act the Musalmans were certainly angry and there was an agitation against this measure. The Musalmans did not join the Congress because of the Sarda Act agitation but to free their Country. The Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha had no connection with the Sarda Act agitation. The Congress, Khilafat and Naujawan Bharat Sabha have nothing to do with the Bolshevik movement nor did they issue any posters or literature with regard to it. I am an office-bearer of the Congress. On 22-4-30 the Lahore leaders were to come to Peshawar and we sent three men to welcome them at Attock of whom Fazal Mahmud was one. He returned at 2 p.m. and informed us that the leaders had been stopped. At 5 p.m. a meeting was held in the Shahi Bagh where all the leaders including Dr. Ghosh, Radha Kishan, Vakil, Paira Khan, Lal Badshah, President Congress Committee, Khan Ali Gul Khan, Jagirdar and Rahim Bux were present. In this meeting a resolution of protest against the stoppage of the leaders was passed and it was announced that picketing would begin on the following day (i.e. 23-4-30). Lala Paira Khan and Ali Gul Khan made forceful speeches in favour of picketing of liquor shops. Syed Lal Badshah and Rahim Bux announced that they would lead the picketing. On behalf of the Naujawans, Lala Acharj Ram, Jagirdar, announced that he would be in the first batch. There were seven or eight thousand men present in the meeting and every one was in favour of picketing. The meeting terminated at 7 p.m. and people returned home peacefully. All the five shops were to be picketed simultaneously. Ali Gul Khan was arrested in the early hours of the morning. Besides announcing that he would be the first among the picketers he had broken the Salt Law. The same night Paira Khan and Rahim Bux had been arrested. In the morning Lal Badshah and Mohammad Khan Mir Hilali were also arrested and were taken away in a lorry and we returned to the Congress office. At about 8 Ghulam

Rabbani Sethi and Allah Bux Barki had just come to the office when two lorries with armed police arrived and stopped under the office. The leaders, who were to be arrested, surrendered themselves to the police. The lorry in which they were placed started for the Kutchery Gate but got punctured when it had gone a short distance. The police took down the leaders and marched them off towards 'A' Division Thana. People followed them. I also accompanied them. When they reached the last step of the Thana at Kabuli Gate the door of the Thana was closed. The leaders stopped outside the gate. At that time the crowd numbered between 1,500 to 1,600. Sethi asked the people to disperse and also exhorted them to remain peaceful and to work for the Congress programme. The people refused to go away till the leaders were taken inside the Thana. Meanwhile, the Superintendent of Police arrived and ordered the people, to disperse, to which the people replied that they would go away when the leaders were taken into the Thana. He knocked at the gate of the Thana but it was not opened and he returned. Ten minutes later the wicket gate was opened and the leaders went in and it was closed, upon which shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad" were raised. The people never attempted to rescue the leaders and began to disperse peacefully. While the people were dispersing, an armoured car entered the gate at great speed without any warning. It passed over and crushed the people. It went about 30 paces from the gate in consequence of which 12 or 14 people were run over of whom some were seriously injured and others were killed. Behind the car a motor cycle ridden by a European rider came at an excessive speed and struck against the armoured car which was being reversed. He fell down and was run over by the armoured car. In this car the Deputy Commissioner Metcalfe was present. I saw him coming out of the car after the collision with the motor cycle and I saw him entering the Thana. In my presence nobody attacked the Deputy Commisisoner. After he had gone some stones fell on the armoured car from one side. The second armoured car also arrived. After the Deputy Commissioner had alighted from the first car, firing started. I heard noise of shouting from the gate side. The voice was that of an Englishman, on which the machine gun began to fire and while firing, it advanced. When the car arrived the crowd was so large that they could not have got out of the way in such a short time even if they had so desired. It is absolutely wrong to say that people stoned the car before it ran over them. Nobody pushed the motor cycle rider nor did they fell him to the ground. He was run over by the car with which he collided. Because the people were crushed the crowd began to advance to take their wounded and the dead, and they were fired upon. After this I saw that flames were coming out from the first car. I saw that no one from the crowd set fire to the car. They

were busy in removing their dead and the injured. When the car caught fire four 'Goras' (British soldiers) came out of the car and fled. Upon this the second car began to fire and advanced. Sometime later a regiment of British soldiers arrived and at once began to fire. People were falling back and were running into side lanes for safety but they were pursued by British soldiers who continued firing. From the Kissa Khani Bazaar people were fired at upto 200 or 300 feet in the lanes and many people fell victims to the bullets. Wherever a person appeared he was indiscriminately fired upon. Even balakhanas were not exempted from this fire. Even people who tried to remove their dead and wounded were fired upon. I saw that no arrangements were made to give medical aid to the people. If this had been done, then many lives would have been saved. On the day following also, there was a complete hartal in the city like the 23rd. On 25th and 26th April the military and the police evacuated the city so that the Transborder tribes might come and attack the city, but the Congress volunteers fully guarded the city and its gates and made adequate arrangements for the opening and closing of the gates. On 27th and 28th April, the police restarted patrolling the city and upto 3rd May no untoward incident happened in the city. On the morning of 4th May, the military began their picketing and on that day a written announcement against the Congress was made which I exhibit. It is absolutely wrong that the Congress was in communication with the Haji of Turanzgai. I produce all the bulletins of the Congress which I have been able to get hold of. On the morning of 4th the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha offices were raided and all the papers including cash were taken away. The same day the rooms round about the Congress office were also looted. Since that day severe repression is going on in the city. People could not go from one part of the city to another, nor could they enter or leave the city. All this repression was to terrorise the people and it is still going on. There was no violence by the people. People were following Mahatma Gandhi's teachings to such an extent that cases which were pending in courts had begun to be settled by the Congress with the consent of both the parties. The people were always peaceful but the Frontier Government has always been inimical to national movements. It has always been busy in trying to prevent the people from taking part in them and to keep them supressed. Wherever there was a manifestation of ideas in favour of liberty the government suppressed it under the Frontier Crimes Regulation. Whenever any person tried to help the Congress or showed his intention to do so, he was subjected to different kinds of repression. A man named Ghulam Sarwar alias Bachu and Abdul Karim only once treated a Congress volunteer to a meal and as a punishment for that he and his cook have been committed to the Sessions under

Section 302 (murder) and are still rotting in jail although both of them were in Rawalpindi on 23-4-30 for which satisfactory proofs can be produced. What better proof can there be of the attitude of the government with regard to the Congress Committee and its humble workers than this incident?

This is the reason why the wounded and the relatives of the dead and missing are reluctant to appear before the Congress Enquiry Committee. They are becoming subject to governmental repression. Because the people do not expect any justice from the official committee which is clear from their repressive attitude, they have decided to boycott it. Only such people will appear before it who either directly or indirectly are under the thumb of the Government and want to protect themselvs from the repression of the government or have some personal ends to gain.

To the Chairman:—My name is Abdul Karim, father's name is Abdul Rahman. I am an Afridi. I am a Shop-keeper. My age is 42. I run a small hotel. I live in Peshawar ever since my childhood.

Q. Have you submitted a written statement?

A. Yes, I did give one. I produce an official communique which was distributed by the Government on 4-5-30. It was distributed on 4-5-30 before the arrest of the leaders and this was given to me by somebody. Englishmen were distributing it. It has been exhibited as Ex. A and Ex. B. I got them from the people in Takhtabad. There were a number of such notices there. People were saying that these had been thrown in large numbers from an aeroplane. This communique is in Pushtu. Ex. C I got from a Police Inspector. This also was distributed in Peshawar in large numbers I produce that also. I produce Ex. D which is a Congress Bulletin, No. 9 and is dated 29-4-30. It was lying in my house. I produce Ex. E. This is a Congress announcement. It was published after 29-4-30 in which mention is made of "Ilan' No. 10 which is dated 30-4-30. I produce another Ilan No. 10 Ex. F. In this a list has been made of the dead, wounded and missing, ascertained upto 30-4-30. Ex. E was posted on the walls. I produce another 'Ilan' Ex. G which was published on behalf of the Congress on 30-4-30. This 'Ilan' was published on behalf of the Congress with the object of contradicting false statements made by the Government by notices (apart from other things mentioned in it.) I produce Congress Bulletin No. 12 dated 1-5-30 which is Ex. H. As I am a member of the Congress Working Committee I had kept a copy of each one of these bulletins at my house and I have now produced them.

On 4-5-30, British soldiers came to our office and took away everything from there, even the matting. They took away every-

thing; even cash was removed. They took most of the goods of the adjoining shopkeepers. They took away their sewing machines. These people were cap (Kulla) manufacturers.

Q. In Ex. F what is the number of the dead wounded and missing respectively?

A. The number of the dead is 79 of the wounded 57 the missing 43, the total number is 179.

Q. How did you get this information?

A. People themselves came to the office of the Congress Committee and informed us. We had also formed two Enquiry Committees; one to make inquiries in the city and the other in the villages. These Committee were formed on 26th or 27th April. This Bulletin was prepared partly from the information given by the people at the office of the Congress Committee and partly from the information received through the Committees. This list is upto 30-4-30 only.

Q. Regarding the 79 who are reported to be dead are you sure that they actually died?

A. I am sure that they did die because our volunteers and their relations have told us. We also took the statements of the people. If the Government had not removed them on 4-5-30, I would have produced them. In these there were the statements of everybody. On these statements the signatures were taken. The statements of a large number of people were in it. There were about 100 men whose statements were recorded. All these papers were taken away by the Government on 4-5-30. A draft list of the dead, wounded and missing of which information was received between 30-4-30 and 4-5-30 after the 'Ilan' No. 10 was prepared, but it had not reached the stage of publication and the British soldiers on 4-5-30 raided and took it away. The Indian soldiers did not come in the office. Sardar Partap Singh, Secretary, told me that the Bulletin prepared after 30-4-30 had been taken away when the rest of the articles were taken away on 4-5-30.

Q. Where were your volunteers?

A. The volunteers about 30 to 40 in number were present in the office. They were preparing to leave for Takhlabad. As I left for Nimaz in the morning I do not know what happened to them. Down below a large number of Gurkhas, Sikhs and British soldiers were standing. I was allowed by the Gurkha soldiers to go out for Nimaz. I had another volunteer with me. After Nimaz when I returned the pickets had been posted. I was in a bazar which is opposite the Congress office. I got up into a balakhana (upper storey of house) and from there I saw that at about 10 o'clock British soldiers got up and I saw the volunteers being beaten from there. The British soldiers were

beating them. I was watching from the balakhana. The balakhana was opposite the Congress office. The British soldiers got the volunteers down in the Bazar and beat them. The Gurkhas and the Sikhs did not beat them. Of them Mohmad Usman and Lala Acharaj Ram were arrested. I did not see Acharaj Ram being arrested. I only saw Mohmad Usman being arrested. The volunteers were severely beaten. I saw Gul Mohmad. Lieutenant of the volunteer corps was being beaten. After felling him, they got up on his body and jumped on it. After the arrest the beating was done by British soldiers. The shops were looted by the British soldiers.

To Dewan Daulat Rai:—I did not see the Sikhs and the Gurkhas looting. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas did not go upstairs to the office and therefore they did not beat. They were posted on guard at a distance. The British soldiers struck the volunteers with butt-ends of rifles and bayonets. Gul Mohmad bled for two or three days through his mouth. He is even now an invalid and therefore could not come here. He is ill up till now on account of that beating.

Q. Why did you on 23-4-30 go towards the Kabuli Gate?

A. I had gone to leave the leaders Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Bux Barki at the police station. I had gone in the lorry at first from the office. The lorry got punctured after going a short distance. We went with the Indian police towards the Thana.

Q. Did the police stand upstairs or downstairs on 23-4-30?

A. They had gone downstairs. I had gone to the Kabuli Gate with the leaders. Saidullah Khan was on the upper floor of the Kabuli Gate. I could see him. When the arrested leaders had entered the Thana we were dispersing. Several people were coming and going. When the leaders got in, the people stood up. Before this some of them were sitting and some standing. 14 persons were trampled under the armoured car and wounded. Out of them seven died. 13 or 14 persons were run over by the armoured car. 7 or 8 died and some were injured. I do not know the name of any dead. A dead body of a Hindu named Daswandi Ram was removed. The names of the others I do not know. We did not throw stones. I do not know who threw small pebbles. Stones could not be found there. A European on a motor cycle collided with the armoured car and died. I myself saw him colliding and being run over by the car.

Q. Do you know full well that nobody killed him?

A. He died under the armoured car. There were two armoured cars and the person on the motor cycle was in between them. The first armoured car got back as the people cried that people were run over and therefore the car reversed. The motor

cyclist collided with armoured car and got run over. He did not strike against the second armoured car. He struck against the first car. When the armoured car came it recklessly ran over the people. When it reversed owing to the shouts of the people it collided with the motor cycle and the cyclist fell down. He was a European.

Q. Who was in the armoured car?

A. Mr. Metcalfe, Deputy Commissioner. I myself saw him alighting. I know him. When he came out I saw him. The European motor cyclist was crushed under the armoured car. The Deputy Commissioner got down and went inside the Thana. In the beginning one man got out. At first pistol shots were heard, which were fired from the armoured car. After this shooting a voice was heard which seemed to be the voice of an Englishman. I can fully make out the voice of an Englishman as well as of an Indian. I have been a Havaldar for five years in the 26th Punjabi Regiment. I have also served in the Police for six years as a third grade sergeant.

Q. How did the armoured car catch fire?

A. It caught fire of itself. After the firing, I cannot say if it caught fire by the bursting of the tank or how, but I can say that there was no fire nearby nor did any one bring rags or fire. When the firing was going on, no one was near the car. The car caught fire after the firing had commenced. It caught fire by itself. When flames came up four Goras (British soldiers) came out. The Deputy Commissioner had come out by then. When it caught fire no one of the crowd was nearby.

To Dewan Daulat Rai:—There was on one in the space between the two cars. The motor cyclist had struck against the first car.

To the Chairman:—When the car came, after running over the people it reversed. There was no one behind except the dead and the wounded. I did not see anybody getting out of the second car. When the first armoured car was on fire, the second armoured car came up and drove on through the crowd firing on the people. People had nothing in their hands. They had no sticks, nor axes, etc. I did not even see a pen or a pencil in the hands of the people. The military came after an hour or so of the arrival of the armoured cars. I came from Kabuli Gate at the time the British soldiers arrived. Many British soldiers came. I did not count them, they were numerous. They were firing. At that time the whole military present consisted of British soldiers. Before the arrival of British troops, firing continued from the armoured cars. The troops arrived in about half an hour's time. I cannot say who ordered the British sol-

diers to fire. The Gurkhas were at the Chauk and not on the spot, i.e., Kabuli Gate. Border military came afterwards. Sadar Militia and the Police did not fire. I did not see any Indian troops firing, only the British were firing. I heard that the Gurkhas were ordered to fire. 2|18 Gharwal Regiment were ordered to fire but they refused and they did not fire. I also came to know that they said they would not fire on unarmed people. They said that they (the regiment) were the protectors of the people, they would stand against any foreigner who invaded them. They also said that they would fire on any invader on India. I do not remember the strength of Gharwali soldiers, I also heard that the Gharwalis were arrested and taken to Abbottabad.

Q. How many people were killed and how many injured?

A. About 200 citizens of Peshawar were killed and wounded. If the outsiders are included, the number of casualties will be 500. I cannot give the number of the persons killed. If we had been allowed to do Congress work and the office had not been closed, we would have completed the list of the injured and the killed. I cannot say how many casualties were amongst the Trans-border people.

Q. When was the Congress Committee at Peshawar started?

A. I joined the Congress in 1921. I was convicted and sentenced to 18 month's imprisonment for a speech in connection with Khilafat work. I took part in the Hartal observed on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Peshawar. For this I was sentenced to 18 month's imprisonment. I was imprisoned in 1922. I am willing to sacrifice even my life for the sake of my country, what do I care about imprisonment! Besides Peshawar there are Congress Committees in Bannu, Kohat, Tal and Dera Ismail Khan. One such Committee has now been formed in Darasmand. There are five districts in the North Western Frontier Province. I do not know about Hazara District, but in each of the remaining four districts there is a Congress Committee. The Congress Committee of Peshawar has been declared an unlawful body and it was declared unlawful on 4th May 1930. The pretext given out by the Government for declaring the Congress Committee as unlawful is that the Committee is in conspiracy with the Haji of Turangzai who wishes to attack the Government. But this is absolutely false. I say so because I definitely know it is false. I challenge the Government to produce any proof in support of this baseless charge. If they know of any correspondence from any office-bearer or member of the Congress Committee, they should produce it.

Q. Is it written in your bulletin that Haji of Turangzai is about to make an attack on the Government with a force of

one lakh of men or more? The Government says so, is this true? The Government also says that you have invited the Haji.

A. We never invited the Haji. We know that the Government accuses us of the conspiracy because our movement was and is gaining strength in Peshawar so much so that many of the citizens do not even like the idea of going to Court and prefer to have their differences decided by us. As a matter of fact we have decided several disputes, and some more applications for our arbitration were lying in our office, which were removed by the British troops on 4th May 1930. The Government wanted to destroy our increasing strength and prestige and hence they have made such a false accusation against us. The Government further expected that the All-India Congress Committee would disaffiliate our Congress Committee because of this accusation and then Government could destroy us in any way it liked. In our bulletin it is written "News has come that the Haji of Turangzai with his followers numbering one lakh or more is prepared to take part in the national movement." It is not written in our bulletin that the Haji is coming with his followers numbering one lakh or that we have invited him. All that we said was that news has been received that the Haji is ready to take part in the national movement.

Q. What do you mean by the national movement?

A. By it we mean our non-violent peaceful movement and in our bulletin we made reference to this movement in which Haji Sahib was prepared to take part. We did not mean that he was coming armed with swords and guns. If we meant this we would never have written that he was joining our movement which is a non-violent movement. Haji Sahib lives at a distance of about 100 miles or more from Peshawar. I have never been to him nor has any body else gone to see him on behalf of the Congress. So far as I know this matter was never talked about in our office. If we wanted to negotiate with the Haji of Turangzai or if we had the slightest intention of giving up non-violence, in that case we would have entered into negotiations with the Afridis, amongst whom I hold the rank of a Malik and who are only nine miles from Peshawar.

Q. How did you get this information that Haji Sahib was prepared to take part in the national movement with his one lakh followers?

A. We put in the bulletin whatever news we heard in the town.

Q. In its communique the Government says that the Congress Committee in its bulletin has admitted having corresponded with the Haji of Turangzai and that it is holding out a threat of an attack by the lashkar of the hill tribes. Is this true or not?

A. This is absolutely false. These words do not appear anywhere in our bulletin. This false accusation has been made against us with a view to carry on a false propaganda against us in the world outside. I know it fully well that this was never published in any Congress bulletin. We challenge the Government to produce any such bulletin or document of such purport before the Slaiman Committee and further to freely advertise the same. If they cannot do so, the Government is bound to publish the true facts.

Q. How many Congress Committees have been declared unlawful?

A. Kohat, Darasmand, Tal, Peshawar, Bannu, I do not know about Dera Ismail Khan.

Q. Do you know of any Congress Committee which has not been declared unlawful?

A. I do not know of any.

Q. Why has the Government declared unlawful these various Congress Committees?

A. The Congress Committees have been declared unlawful because the Government alleges that we are in league with the Haji of Turangzai; and that we are in conspiracy with him with a view to pursuade him to commit violence and to raid the Government territory. This accusation is absolutely baseless and has been made against us for the purpose of propaganda and with a view to imprison us and further to frighten the people so that they may not partake in the non-violent national movement and further to suppress the movement itself.

Q. (Diwan Daulat Rai). In Ex. A. the Government has proclaimed that Congress Committees and Naujawan Bharat Sabha are guilty of stirring rebellion and by their acts have created disturbance in the city. Is it a truth or a falsehood?

A. This is absolutely a lie. On the contrary we have made speeches in various meetings attended by fifteen thousand people or so. The speeches were in favour of non-violence and the people always dispersed peacefully after the meetings were over and went to their respective houses and no unpleasant incident ever occurred. We challenge the Government to show a single unpleasant incident having occurred after the meetings were over.

Q. It is written in this notification that your persons and property which the government has been protecting for so many years has been put in jeopardy (on hearing the above-mentioned sentence the witness smiled ironically to express his contempt). Is this statement correct?

A. This statement too is absolutely incorrect.

Q. Has the government published anything correct in this notification?

A. The whole notification is a lie.

Q. The Congress has published the following notification No. 11, Exhibit G that on 24th April, 1930 a Hindu youth who has a sharbat shop (cold drink shop) in the city was arrested because he was wearing Gandhi Cap. Uptill now no case has been started against him. He is in great trouble in the Gorkhatri lock-up due to the attitude of the Government. Is this right or wrong?

A. It is correct.

Q. (Sardar Sardul Singh). Is it correct that when the leaders were arrested on 23-4-30 and the lorry got punctured some of the public tried to snatch away the leaders when they came out of the lorry with the police to go to the Kabuli Gate Police station?

A. It is absolutely incorrect. If they were snatched then how could they have reached the police station?

Q. (Diwan Daulat Rai). Do you know Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan?

A. Yes, I know him. He has joined the non-violence movement since the year 1919. He is a very rich man. He spends a great portion of his income on the non-violence movement. He has opened some eighty national schools with his own efforts. A big school which was named "Azad School" was opened in Utman Zai whose office we are told has been burnt by the Government after 23-4-30. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan usually wears the Gandhi cap and his followers and disciples wear Khaddar clothes. They usually wear Gandhi caps. All his acquaintances or all those who have any connection with him whether in or out of the village all usually wear Khaddar and Gandhi caps and are quite non-violent.

Q. (Dewan Daulatrai); Can you tell me any incident since the year 1919 to 23rd April 1930 in which Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan or any of his companions or his sympathisers did anything which savours of violence?

A. I can say this much that since the day the non-violent movement was started by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, from that day uptil 23-4-30 those people who always committed dacoities and murders have stopped committing crimes and having accepted the creed of non-violence they are living peacefully.

Q. Is it not a fact that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has a great number of such followers?

A. They must be numbering more than 40 thousand. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is the same person who had been arrested on 23-4-30 and now he is undergoing imprisonment for three

years in the Gujerat jail. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has no relationship with Haji Turangzai.

Q. In Ex. F. there are noted certain persons without names. Did the Congress try to get a clue to the names of those people and could not succeed and the Congress investigated and wrote that the names are not known?

A. Yes Sir. That is so.

Q. Is it your evidence that when the armoured car after crushing the people got over them, then the rest of the people came before the armoured car and because they were in large numbers, the armoured car could not proceed further and so the car had to reverse and for this reason the Englishman on the cycle collided against the car and was run over by it.

A. Yes Sir. That is so.

Q. When the pebbles were thrown by the people then did anybody belonging to the Congress say "throw stones", or did any of them throw stones or say anything?

A. Congressmen were exhorting the people to remain non-violent and to disperse peacefully. On hearing them throwing of stones stopped.

29-5-30 (Sd.) Abdul Karim

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Supplementary Statement of Abdul Karim, Witness of No. 18

To the Chairman:—Out of Ex. F. I know the following; persons who were killed on 23-4-30.

1. Ellahi Bux No. 5
2. Gul Mohammad No. 6
3. Ghulam Mohammad No. 8
4. Mahang Shah No. 10
5. Daswandhi Ram No. 11

Out of Ex. F. I know the following wounded persons also:—

1. Mohammad Yunus No. 2
2. Ghulam Jan No. 7
3. Wazir Mohammad No. 9
4. Abdul Rahman No. 10
5. Abdul Qayum No. 11
6. Mohammad Yaqub No. 20
7. Ghulam Nabi No. 28

8. Gopichand, witness No. 30.

9. Nanakchand, witness No. 31

Out of this Ex. F. the following persons who are missing are known to me:—

1. Mohammad Safi, son of Qasim No. 11

2. Roora No. 35

Besides those already mentioned and those mentioned in Ex. J. I also know the following dead persons entered in Ex. J.

1. Ghulam Jan, wrestler (Pahlwan).

Q. Was any memorial raised in honour of the persons who were killed on 23-4-30 and who erected it?

A. Yes. The memorial was raised on 25th or 26th April and remained in existence for many days till it was demolished by the Government 24 or 25 days ago.

I witnessed its demolition from a balakhana.

1-6-30 (Sd.) Abdul Karim

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

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The statement of Chaman Lal, son of L. Ganga Bishen of Mardan, age 18 years, volunteer, Congress Committee, Residence Peshawar City

As picketing of liquor shops was to commence in Peshawar from 23rd April according to the decision of the Congress, therefore on the night between 22nd and 23rd April all the office bearers of the War Council were arrested. The only two persons who had escaped arrest on account of their absence from their homes offered themselves for arrest in the office of the Congress Committee on their having come to know in the morning that warrants of arrest were out against them. The police lorry came to the Congress Committee office on 23rd April at 8 a.m. in order to arrest the two leaders who surrendered themselves to the police. As the crowd was large the lorry drove at a slow speed and the people accompanied it. The lorry got punctured at Kutchery Gate and the two leaders started on foot for the police station. As they were advancing, the number of the people continued to increase. At Kabuli Gate the crowd stopped as the police station was closed. Ghulam Rabbani Sethi, one of the two arrested leaders, made a short speech and then he was taken to the police station.

The crowd was about to disperse when the armoured cars without giving any warning entered the Kabuli Gate (Khuni Gate) and trampled over the crowd with the result that about

10 or 12 persons were either wounded or killed. In the meantime firing was opened.

The wounding and the killing of certain persons created an excitement and fear among the persons assembled. A few irresponsible persons threw stones on the armoured cars but on the whole the crowd remained peaceful; and the dead bodies and the wounded persons were being removed, and it was at this time that a soldier fired a pistol which wounded some people. While the armoured car had just started it caught fire on account of the bursting of the carburettor and meanwhile the other armoured car advanced, and a white soldier who was riding the motor cycle got in between the two cars and was killed on account of the collision, and the armoured car caught fire of itself. I say so because evidently there was no material to set the car on fire, there being complete hartal in the city. It was not possible for any body to approach the car. The crowd was absolutely peaceful upto this stage, so much so, that 2|18 Garhwal Platoon had refused to fire on the peaceful crowd and it is said that their reason for refusal to fire was that they could not do so on the unarmed crowd. While the people were advancing to remove the dead body and wounded persons they were butchered. Those persons who were crushed to death by the armoured car were so crushed on account of its driving fast, and not on account of its taking a turn. The firing continued from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. The people continued to fall back slowly and by 6 p.m. the military had taken full possession of the town.

After 3 p.m. any person or volunteer who made an attempt to remove the dead bodies was fired upon with the result that a few volunteers were wounded and killed.

At about 7 p.m. the Sewa Samiti people brought three bodies to the office of the Congress Committee in order to have them identified and at this time the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Fox accompanied by British soldiers raided the Congress office and placed all the inmates of the office, including myself, under arrest and released us after an hour. The troops were parading the town the whole night and the next day on 24th all the troops were removed from the town.

The charge against the Congress and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha that they were carrying on Bolshevik propaganda is entirely without foundation. The object of all Naujawan Bharat Sabhas is to organize the workers and the peasants and on this work the Peshawar Naujawan Bharat Sabha is engaged; but this was wrongly regarded by Government as red propaganda. This attitude had been adopted by the Government in order to crush the Congress and the Naujawan Bharat Sabhas. The offices of the Congress and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha have been searched several times before but no Bolshevik material was ever found

and the Government has no proof in its possession to establish that these organizations are carrying Bolshevik propaganda. The other charge against the Congress and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha that they were in correspondence with Haji Turangzai is equally unfounded. The Haji and the other independent tribes are prepared to fight the English in order to avenge themselves for killing members of their tribes on 23rd April due to firing on that day. The real reason for the Government Zulam is that the demonstration of Hindu and Muslim unity in the North-West Frontier Province is without parallel and this is distasteful to the Government, which is ever on the look out for an excuse to involve both the communities. An attempt was made to create disunion between the two communities by publishing posters to the effect that the Congress was a Hindu organization. The Congress had succeeded so far that the people had begun to have their cases settled either by their Punchayat or by the Congress Committee. The propaganda of Naujawan Bharat Sabha was equally successful. They had established their own Committee for the settlement of cases and for these reasons the Government started repression against both of them and applied to them the Frontier Laws which should not be applied even to the animals, much less to human beings.

To the Chairman:—I am a resident of Mardan. I am a student. My father is a landlord of Mardan possessing about 1,500 acres of land. I do not know as to what amount of land-revenue he pays. I am reading in the tenth class. I am a volunteer of the Peshawar Congress.

Q. Have you given a written statement?

A. Yes. I have heard it read out. It is correct.

Q. What is the income of your father?

A. It is about Rs. 3,000 per month.

Q. Is any income-tax paid?

A. Income-tax is paid but I do not know the amount.

The Congress office was searched once. The office of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha was searched twice or thrice. The Congress office was searched once before 4th of May 1930. I do not know about 4th of May 1930 as I was not at Peshawar. The dead bodies of two Mohammedans and one Hindu were brought to the Congress office. They had died as a result of bullets. Two persons alleged to be the relatives of the Muhammadan dead had come but they ran away when a batch of 20 British soldiers raided the office and nothing after that was known about them. The dead bodies were carried over to the office of the Khilafat Committee and therefrom the police took them away to some unknown destination. The number of persons injured or dead on 23-4-30 is totalled at 300. Till the evening of 23rd

April, 1930, 53 dead bodies were taken over to the Khilafat Committee office. I was among the volunteers who carried those dead bodies. Congress mentions about 43 as missing in its bulletin. 30 to 35 dead bodies had been removed by the relatives from the place of occurrence and some from the Khilafat Committee office. The Khilafat Committee buried the dead bodies of Mohammedans who had no relatives, while the dead bodies of Hindus were taken away by the Seva Samiti. I mean to say that I was one of the volunteers who had removed the dead bodies of 53 Mohamedans to the Khilafat Committee. Out of these dead bodies, those that were identified were taken away for burial by the persons identifying them. The remaining were buried by the Khilafat Committee.

I have heard that the persons who went after 3 o'clock to remove the dead bodies were fired upon. I have heard the Government had taken away the dead bodies on lorries. The volunteers who were removing them were attacked. Six Khilafat volunteers were shot dead while lifting the dead bodies and two Congress volunteers received injuries. Several of the Khilafat volunteers were also wounded while lifting the dead. 20 to 25 injured persons were taken to Lady Reading Hospital by volunteers.

I came back to Peshawar on 5-5-30. The British soldiers beat persons individually. I saw this from the balcony. On 23rd April 1930, a woman died having been run over by the armoured car. We took her to the office of the Khilafat Committee. She was an old Mohamedan lady. Her relatives took her away.

29-5-30 (Sd.) CHAMAN

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

20

The statement of Hari Chand, son of Ganga Bishen Shikarpuri, age 21, residence Sher Bazar, Peshawar City

My younger brother left his house for attending the school in the morning of 23rd April 1930 but the School authorities of the National High School to avoid any danger, as there was commotion from the morning, had closed the school; therefore he after leaving his satchel at the house of my sister went out somewhere. It was 11 a.m. when I came to know of this when I received a message about his absence from my sister's house. I had closed my shop and was sitting outside when I heard shots from the Shahidi bazar inside the Kabuli or Khuni Gate; and I saw Congress volunteers bearing away corpse after corpse

stretched on charpais. When I went to the spot accompanied by a friend of mine, I saw Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadwi standing on the car belonging to the Fire Brigade and exhorting the people, who were gathering rapidly in great excitement prepared to receive bullets in their chests, to keep perfectly non-violent and to disperse. On the other side the British soldiers who were standing in front of the crowd armed with rifles began to shoot; and people began to fall dead and in a short time a hill of corpses was seen on the spot. I really consider myself unfortunate that I am still alive to record here this statement. However not being able to trace my brother there at about 1-30 p.m., I went to the houses of my relatives in search of him. As soon as I entered the house a boy informed me that my brother had been hit by a bullet. I went running and saw one person carrying him and many persons following him. He had received a shot in his foot and was bleeding. At that time as all the gates of the city were closed it was impossible to take him to the hospital. Dr. S. Jawahir Singh who is now in jail and Dr. Ludin Chand, were dressing the wounded persons. I also got my brother dressed by them. The bullet had already been taken out. At about 6 p.m. the British troops occupied the city amidst firing in the whole town and posted pickets in every street and lane. Next day we took him to the hospital. The pitiable condition of the citizens that night can be well imagined by Your Honour. Several mothers lost their sons and several wives became widows and many young and old and little children were killed. I got him admitted to the hospital and I and my other brothers took upon ourselves the duty of nursing him as our mother was not there. We were glad that our brother had earned the distinction of being a martyr at the hands of this cruel Government. That innocent boy of 13 years had gone out with the usual curiosity of children just to have a look and when he reached Dhaki Nalbandi he received a shot from the armoured car along with others and he was brought to his house by those brave volunteers and members of the Congress who, at the risk of their lives, were removing the dead. (This is the story as given by the boy himself). In the end I pray that God grant you sufficient strength to render service to your Country and to the Nation so that we, following in your footsteps, may have the "Darshan" (sight) of the Goddess of Liberty.

To the Chairman:—I have submitted the written statement which has been read out to me. I admit it to be correct.

My brother, who is sitting with me now, received the bullet shot. He is 13 years old. His wound has healed up now. I do not possess the medical certificate. Dr. Jawahir Singh who dressed him on the first day has been arrested. I do not know any reason why he should have been arrested except that he was

dressing the wounded on that day. I went to Kabuli Gate at 11 a.m., I did not see any armoured car burning. I saw the car of the Fire Brigade. The armoured car may have been burnt before I came. Two armoured cars were standing there. The firing was done by British troops. The Sikhs did not fire. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas were not there. It was 11 o'clock then. I stayed there for about half an hour. I do not recognize the Deputy Commissioner. I am a petition writer. My father is alive and he is also a petition writer.

The British troops may have come after the armoured cars. I did not see. The city gates were closed and the wounded were not allowed to be taken to the hospital. I saw with my own eyes persons being shot dead. Upto 26-4-30 the Congress volunteers guarded the city. Afterwards military pickets were placed round the city. For twenty-four hours the people were not allowed to go out of their streets. Every one was confined in his own Mohalla. The women and children also were confined. I did not see the people being beaten by the British troops. My brother's name is Gopi Chand.

Note:—The boy showed the leg to the Members of the Committee and pointed out the place where he had received the shot. The bullet mark was on the leg just above the ankle.

No one has stopped us from coming to this place. Gopi Chand has come from Lyallpur and I have come from Peshawar.

29-5-30 (Sd.) HARICHAND

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

21

The statement of Illahi Bux, son of Mohamad Hussan, age 25 years, caste Mir, occupation Timber Merchant, residence Peshawar City

On 23rd April 1930 when I came out of my house in the morning I came to know that the Congress volunteers had been arrested at night, so I went to the Congress office and on enquiry I was told that Agha Lal Badshah Sahib and others were arrested but Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Alla Bux Barki had not been arrested till then. These two gentlemen were present in the Congress office and when I came down I saw two lorries filled with policemen, and the inspector said that he had warrants for Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux Barki. Consequently both these gentlemen surrendered themselves to the police without any hesitation, and the police arrested them and took them away in the lorries. At the time of the arrest a small crowd had already gathered there which began going peacefully towards the police station with the lorries in order to escort the leaders there. Be-

cause I had some private business I went back from the Clock Tower and after a short time when I again came to the bazaar I came to know that there was some firing in the Kabuli Gate by which many people were killed; and when I went a little further I met some people near the Packa Bridge who were carrying a body and at that time a detachment of Mounted troops headed by a European came at a run from Gorkhatary; and behind the mounted troops policemen on foot in large numbers were running in the direction of Kissa Khani Bazaar. Consequently I also ran with the police and reached the Kissa Khani Bazaar, and on the way I saw some three or four dead bodies being carried by some people. Everything on the road leading to Bazaar Kissa Khani was at this time clear; only some persons in the neighbourhood of the armoured cars were removing the dead; and the rest were standing on the wooden planks in front of their shops when the firing from the armoured cars started; and out of the people who were standing on the wooden planks some six or seven persons were struck with bullets and fell down in a dying condition; inspite of the fact that innocent people were making efforts to conceal themselves in order to be safe, a detachment of mounted troops and the police standing in a row on the turning of the Kissa Khani Bazaar, and the mounted troops headed by an officer on horse back, ordered a sowar to shoot those persons who were standing on the wooden planks. The mounted soldier replied "Whom should I shoot? These people are not doing any harm to us." On hearing this the officer lost his temper and shot at the mounted soldier with his revolver; but the sowar escaped and the bullet struck the horse; consequently the horse ran a few paces after being hit and fell down. On seeing this condition the mounted soldiers and the police ran away of their own accord and took shelter in lanes and streets after getting away from the bazaar. When the people saw this condition they began running away and the whole bazaar became empty and I also left the bazaar and stood in a lane when a man said that a poor woman had also been killed whose body had not been removed; and because there were some other dead bodies as well lying there, some people gathered to carry them; and the people wished that the bodies which were lying hither and thither might be given to them. But the British soldiers did not allow any body to step forward. They delayed and the non-delivery brought forth more and more people and this went on till it was as late as 2 p.m. All the people were standing calmly. At this time a bugle was sounded and the British soldiers stepped back a few paces and started firing on the people with their rifles. The result was that many persons began to fall; I saw them in a dying condition and the remaining began to run away. Then there was indiscriminate firing by the armoured car, with the result that many lives were lost and innumerable persons were

wounded. The persons who concealed themselves underneath the wooden platform of the shops were dragged out by the British soldiers and were ordered to move away, and when such persons ran for safety the British soldiers killed them by firing on them from behind. I saw this scene from underneath the wooden platform of a shop and as the British soldiers were still at a distance from me I came out and moved away. I saw corpses in streets near the Kissa Khani Bazaar which were lying at such a distance from the bazaar as to be easily removable by volunteers. I gave information about this in the office of the Khilafat Committee. I wore my belt and accompanied by the volunteers removed the dead. After we had removed the dead and wounded from the streets we wanted to remove the bodies that were lying in large numbers in the Kissa Khani Bazaar which was literally strewn with them. When I advanced with some others the British soldiers at first allowed us to remove the dead but we had hardly removed three or four dead bodies when we were fired upon. These shots killed some of the Khilafat volunteers and the rest retreated. After this we were sure that we could not remove the dead bodies. Later it could not be found out what the Government had done with the remaining dead bodies and how they were disposed off. Then Government began to commit atrocities, that is to say, it posted British soldiers at various places inside the city, who began to maltreat women who happened to pass by. Whenever any military detachment went on, it fatally wounded anybody and everybody, who came across them, with bayonets and butt-ends of rifles. After every five minutes a new detachment passed through every street, and according to their own pleasure used to cause injury to the people. All bazaars and side streets remained closed to traffic. On 26th of April, police and the military withdrew from the city leaving the gates and the streets open. At eleven o'clock in the night when the Congress and Khilafat volunteers learnt this they came out to protect the city and to take over the control of the traffic. Quiet and peace prevailed but a few days afterwards the military again entered the city. They closed all streets and bylanes and hit anybody who happened to pass by with bayonets and butt-ends of rifles. Several peoples were thus injured. On 4th May, 1930 the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha offices were raided and cash and all other property was taken away and their properties were burnt. A picket of British soldiers was posted on each of the said offices and till now the military is in the city. For this reason the people are not permitted even to go to their places of worship. Thus the Id prayers which were always offered in Idgah could not be held there, nor was the Id duly celebrated. I have the list of the wounded and the dead whom I removed. I solemnly declare that this statement of mine is perfectly true because I consider this statement of mine as the

last. From the present policy of the Government it is only to be expected that jail is the proper place for men who tell the truth. We had to be very cautious in coming from Peshawar to Rawalpindi because the Government desires that the voice of the people of our unfortunate Province may not be heard outside.

To the Chairman:—I used to pay income-tax but not now. My statement has been read over to me. It is correct.

The death roll is between 200 and 300. I myself with other volunteers removed sixty dead bodies. I am a volunteer of the Khilafat Committee; and also a member of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. The Khilafat and Congress volunteers removed these dead bodies which they came across after 2 p.m. Between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. we removed sixty dead bodies. People told us that the English troops were not hindering persons from removing the dead bodies and begged us to remove the dead from the bazaar. These sixty dead bodies which we removed were from the streets. We could not remove any from the bazaar. When we went there the English troops started firing. I had fifteen volunteers with me, six of them were shot down. The office of the Khilafat Committee is about three furlongs from the place of the occurrance. People helped us in removing the dead bodies. Volunteers and people had together done the work of removing the dead. In all we removed sixty dead. We took the bodies to our office. There were young people there. They identified dead bodies, that is how we came to know the names. (The witness at this stage produced before the Committee a pocket book which contained a note in details of the dead and his personal account) I wrote these notes on 23rd April 1930. There is mention of sixty dead bodies. There are forty-seven names and the rest 13 are strangers whose names could not be ascertained. I tear off the three leaves (six pages) and submit them to you. My pocket book bearing the list of the dead persons is marked as Ex. I. I have seen the Congress bulletin containing particulars about seventy-nine dead. I have not compared the Congress bulletin (Ex. F.) with my notes. I cannot say whether my list of sixty persons is included in that of the Congress bulletin. I cannot speak of the exact number of the dead lying in the bazaar. The dead bodies were lying in the middle and on both sides of the bazaar and also above and beneath the platforms of the shops. They could not be counted. There are three kinds of rumours (1) that the Government threw the dead bodies in the rivers (2) that they were buried in a ditch (3) that they were burnt. These are rumours but I have no personal knowledge. I saw thirty-nine wounded persons being taken to Lady Reading Hospital. The Khilafat volunteers carried these wounded persons. I have not got the list with me. The list is with Agha Khan. I shall try to send it along. Out of the above

thirty-nine wounded persons admitted to the Hospital ten or twelve persons died. There were few Hindus dead. Out of the sixty dead only five were Hindus. These we conveyed to the proper houses. My father is alive. He, too, is a timber merchant. Six people have accompanied me to Rawalpindi. We came to know through the papers that the Committee had arrived at Pindi.

The horse that died remained in the bazaar from 9 in the morning till evening. At 6 p.m., while the troops were in the bazaar it was flooded with water and all the blood was washed away. The six persons who had accompanied me are (1) Mohamad Salim, (2) Ghulam Kadir, (3) Ali Mohamad Darzi, (4) Mian Gul Hussain, (5) Abdul Aziz and (6) Baboo.

I saw the Gurkha and Sikh Sepoys. They did not fire. A Pathan Sepoy, not a resident of Peshawar, probably belonging to some village, was on horse back. In my presence he was ordered to shoot by an Englishman. I heard him replying "Sir, whom shall I shoot." Hearing this the Englishman fired at him with his revolver. The bullet hit the horse which fell and died after running for a little further distance. The rider too fell down with the horse and then immediately ran away. The rest of the police and mounted sepoys also ran away as the armoured car was in action. They ran away lest they should be shot down.

Note:—At this time Abdul Karim, the son of Abdul Rahman Khan, who gave his evidence this morning, was sent for by the Chairman to identify the witness. Abdul Karim said he knew the witness. Abdul Karim was asked whether he knew if a horse was hit by a bullet and its death. He replied in the affirmative. He said the horse was shot down by an Englishman with a revolver. The horse fell down. The place where the horse fell down is marked as A in the map. The sowar according to Abdul Karim's statement ran away when the horse fell down. Ilahi Baksh, witness, pointed out on the map the place shown by Abdul Karim as the spot where the horse fell down.

29-5-30 (Sd.) ILAHI BAKSH

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

22

The statement of Haji Mohammad, son of Kala Khan, caste Awan, age about 25 years, occupation Tailor, residence Peshawar

On 22nd April 1930 it was proclaimed by the Congress that a public meeting would be held in the evening at 5 P. M. in Shahi Garden and that necessary instructions regarding picketing liquor

shops on 23rd April 1930 would be given there. Accordingly the meeting began at 5 P.M. under the chairmanship of Syed Lal Badshah. The resolution about the picketing of liquor shops was moved by Lala Paira Khan, and was seconded by Rahim Bux and others with speeches. Another resolution was passed condemning the attitude of the authorities in prohibiting the entry of Doctor Mahmud and others in Peshawar. Between 5 and 7 thousand persons attended the meeting. The resolution for the picketing of liquor shops was passed unanimously. After that the meeting dispersed and people went to their houses peacefully.

On the morning of 23-4-30 on my way to the Congress office I came to know that Syed Lal Badshah, Lala Paira Khan, Rahim Bux Gaznavi, Khan Mir Sahib and others were arrested. When I arrived at the office I was informed by Sethi Ghulam Rabbani and Alla Bux Barqi that warrants for their arrest had also been issued. In obedience to the instructions of the Congress I joined the batch proceeding for picketing and when I reached Dabghari Gate Liquor shop where last pickets were posted, I, from Pukka Bridge saw that Sethi Ghulam Rabbani and Alla Bux Barqi, after being arrested, were carried in a lorry towards Kachery Gate by armed police. I also proceeded with the lorry on foot which was going at slow speed. One of the tyres of the lorry was punctured near Kachery Gate. Therefore both the leaders who were under arrest, told the police that as the repairing of the tyre would take some time and the crowd was swelling, it would be advisable if they (the police) allowed them to reach the Thana on foot. Police having consented to this, the crowd and the leaders proceeded on foot. On reaching Kabuli Gate, Sethi Ghulam Rabbani exhorted the people to carry on the congress programme peacefully on the principle of non-voilence of the Congress, and then both the leaders requested them to scatter and disperse. As the crowd was a large one it could only disperse slowly. Some people went to their houses, and some to the congress office. No sooner had I reached my house than sound of firing was heard. Thereupon I came out and was informed that European troops had begun firing in Kissa Khani Bazaar. On my way to Kissa Khanni Bazaar I saw people carrying dead bodies towards the Khilafat office. In the bazaar of Tinsmiths, on the way to Kissa Khani Bazaar, a European soldier levelled his rifle to fire at me, when a shopkeeper at the place shouted out "Bacho" (save yourself). I jumped to one side and a rifle shot passed near my left leg. Thereupon I jumped to the other side and another shot passed over my head. Then I proceeded towards Chakla through ruined shops and on my way I saw two corpses, one was of Abdulla Kashmiri and the other was of a Pathan. There were bullet wounds on the chest of both of them. After seeing this state of things I went home.

On 25th April 1930 both the troops and the police left the city unguarded. It was rumoured that it was the intention of the Government to have the city looted by Transborder tribes and to create communal disturbances. Upon this the Congress and Khilafat volunteers began to guard the city. Volunteers were posted at the gates, for the satisfaction of the public, who closed the gates at night. This arrangement lasted for two or three days. At about 12 at night a house in Dhakki Dalgaran caught fire. We went there, extinguished the fire and returned to the Congress office. Next morning when we got up and a volunteer went down, we saw that on all sides we were surrounded by armed European troops, and a large number of armed soldiers were in front of the Congress office. They began quickly to come up to the office and all the volunteers inside who were about 35 in number were turned out. All things found in the office were loaded in a lorry and the cash was also removed. Mohamad Usman, volunteer in charge, and Acharj Ram, volunteer were arrested and handcuffed. We then were beaten and pushed down with dandas and butt-ends of rifles. Upto this time troops are there and the business of the people is undergoing very heavy losses. People are being arrested on frivolous pretexts and subjected to every sort of hardship. The Congress Committee has been dispersed. Every person suspected of being connected with the Congress or Naujawan Bharat Sabha is arrested. It is also heard that the police at Peshawar station notes down the names of persons suspected of proceeding to Rawalpindi to give evidence and there is danger of their being subjected to violence. It was for this reason that we, six men, came on foot and got into the Railway train at different stations.

I have nothing more to say.

29-5-30 (Sd.) Haji Mohamad

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

23

The statement of Mohammad Salim, son of Gul Mohammad, caste Qureshi, occupation shopkeeper age 42 years, residence Manhajauri, Peshawar City.

On 22nd April, our officer ordered that all the Congress volunteers should be present in the office at 7 A.M. on 23-4-30, because liquor shops were to be picketed. When I came to the office in the morning of the 23rd April, I learnt that Paira Khan and Ali Gul Khan had been arrested. Our officer asked me to enquire from their homes if it was correct or not. When I was coming back from the house of Ali Gul Khan, Syed Lal Badshah and

Khan Mir, leaders, after having been garlanded were being congratulated on their arrest by the people. They surrendered to the police of their own accord and were taken to jail in a lorry. The crowd dispersed quite peacefully. There was no British police officer then. There were a few constables. After that Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Baksh Barqi were coming towards the Thana along with the crowd. They were also garlanded by the people, who after congratulating them, raised the usual slogans. When they reached the Thana, the doors of the thana were closed. Standing there they exhorted the people to remain peaceful and to stick to non-violence and to continue to picket liquor shops. When the doors of the thana opened and the leaders entered, the people began to disperse. As I was far behind, I hastened towards the Congress office with a view to give the information. When I had gone a little further and reached the office, I heard firing. I did not pause but went to the office. When I reached the office the people came running and on being asked they said that at the Kabuli Gate people were being fired at. I kept sitting in the Congress office with some volunteers. Between 2 and 3 P. M. British soldiers reached near the Congress office. They fired at every one they saw. I myself saw people shot down. They fired at the office and therefore we withdrew and kept sitting in the room. We heard the sound of the firing for fourteen or fifteen minutes. Firing then stopped but the military was present in the city. They did not allow anyone to go about the lanes of bazars or places of worship and whosoever they met was struck with bayonets and lathis. Of my acquaintance I saw Wazir, son of Mehr Dil, being injured in this manner. Then the military and the police were withdrawn. On the 25th April at about 11 P. M. information was received that the gates of the city were open. On hearing that, all of the volunteers collected in the office. Our officer Mohammad Usman asked us to sit and himself went to the police station to inquire why the city was left unguarded. The gates of the thana were closed and nobody replied to him. When he returned he gave us Rs.10 and asked us to bring locks at once and put them on the city gates. He ordered five volunteers for each gate and asked us to take up our position. We went to guard the city. We controlled the traffic likewise and in the night fifteen volunteers with an officer regularly patrolled the city. Volunteers of other associations joined us in this organization. This arrangement continued for 3 days. There was perfect peace and there was no disturbance or theft. We heard that the Government force had evacuated the city so that people from outside may come and plunder it, and they also threatened us that dacoits would come and kill us. After 3 days the police took over control. On 30-4-30 our officer ordered us to stay in the office that night as we had to go for a meeting at 6 A. M. the next day. We were

in the office when information was received that fire had broken out in the city. Some volunteers went out to extinguish the fire. At 5 A. M. they raided the office and took away everything including cash. The shops down below were also broken into and goods removed. After being searched, all the volunteers were pushed down and were asked to stand in a row. Mohamad Usman, officer of the volunteers, was arrested and handcuffed and we were asked to go away; one of us was kicked. An officer of the British soldiers pounced upon us and struck us with bayonets. I was also wounded. I am alright now but the mark of the wound is there. Similar was the treatment at the office of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

Military is present in the city even now and they have blocked all the lanes and bazars. In the days of the Id they did not let any one pass for filling water or saying prayers in the Idgah as is always done. There was no rejoicing on the occasion of the Id.

What about making a statement before the Official Enquiry Committee it is difficult even to go near them. They are being guarded closely and nobody is allowed to go in unless accompanied by a Government officer. There is great danger in giving evidence before this Committee.

I am a fruit seller. I have come from Peshawar with Elahi Bux. I have given a written statement.

The statement read over to me I admit to be correct. I solemnly state that my statement is true.

Note—The witness showed his wound to the Committee.

A mark of injury of a bayonet is visible on the left shoulder. I had gone to the doctor. I do not know his name. Whatever treatment was given to the wounded, it was done by the public. Nothing was done by the Government. I remained near the Kabuli Gate for 15 minutes or half an hour.

Q. Was the police withdrawn on the Id Day?

A. The people were permitted for one hour to say their prayers.

To the chairman:—At about 9 P.M. all the gates of the city are closed always and opened at 4 A. M. When the military was withdrawn our officer gave us Rs.10 and asked us to bring locks. Locks could not be bought. We got locks from our houses and locked the gates. The volunteers of the Khilafat, Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha were posted at the gates. The guard was put because there is danger from the Trans-Frontier men and the doors of the gates were always closed at 9 P. M. by order of the Government and guard was put on. As the gates were not closed that night by the Government and the city was left unguarded, we kept guard at

the gates to protect the city. Locks could not be had at that late hour from the Bazar, therefore we got the locks from our houses and put them on the doors. A guard of five volunteers was put on every gate. This arrangement was carried out jointly by the Khilafat Committee, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Congress. There are no gates to the Kabuli Darwaza. It is guarded by pickets. This arrangement went on for 3 days from 25-4-30 to 28-4-30. On the night of 29-4-30, when we went on guard, the police was already on guard. They asked us to go and take rest. After these four days, we did not go on guard duty.

29-5-30 Thumb impression of Mohammad Salim.

Read out to the witness who has put his thumb impression in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

24

The statement of Abdul Aziz, son of Agha Jan, occupation Tinsmith, residence Mohalla Ganj Kotla, Peshawar City

On 23-4-30 when the police had carried out a number of arrests I heard the news and went to the bazar Kissa Khani. There was a big crowd assembled which was shouting national cries, but otherwise it was perfectly peaceful. In the meanwhile a European officer came on horseback and returned. A little later two armoured cars were driven in. There was a motor cycle between these two armoured cars and a European was riding on it. The armoured car did not sound any horn, and was driven at a reckless speed on the people which resulted in 12 or 13 casualties (dead and wounded). The motor cycle driving between the two cars, collided with an armoured car and the motor cyclist fell down and was crushed under the armoured car. Having seen this I went home. I do not know what happened thereafter.

Thumb impression of Abdul Aziz, son of Agha Jan of Peshawar.

Read out to the witness who has put his thumb impression in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

25

The statement of Ghulam Qadir, son of Abdul Jan, contractor, age 22 years, residence Peshawar City

In the public meeting on 22nd April 1930 held in Shahi Bagh, it was decided that picketing should be started on liquor shops. The President of the meeting was Syed Lal Badshah.

On 23-4-30 the news spread in the city that Pairakhan and Ali Gul Khan were arrested on the previous night. I also went to the bazar to enquire about it. I saw people garlanding Lal Bad Shah and Khan Mir Hilali. The people were accompanying the leaders towards the Thana and were shouting national slogans. At the Thana the leaders were taken inside and the gates of the Thana closed and the people dispersed. Agha Lal Bad Shah exhorted the people to disperse—at that time the crowd was absolutely peaceful and the people were dispersing. A Hartal took place in the city. On return I saw Allah Bux Barqi and Ghulam Rabbani coming in a lorry from the side of Pukka Bridge. When they reached near Chauk Bazar, the lorry got punctured, hence the Sub-Inspector, constables and leaders came out of it. The people told the Sub-Inspector that they would take the leaders on foot to the Thana. They were garlanded and were taken to the Thana. The people were following them. The leaders were asking the people to remain peaceful and to carry on the picketing of the liquor shops. When they reached near the Thana, the Thana gates were closed. After a while the leaders were taken inside. Meanwhile many people had gathered there but had already begun to disperse peacefully. I was also amongst them. On reaching home I heard the sound of firing going on at intervals till 4 o'clock. By this time the military took charge of the streets and bazars and did not allow anybody to go this or that way. After two or three days the police and the military were withdrawn and the city was left unprotected and even the city gates were left unguarded. There was no police guard then. The volunteers guarded the city. On 4th May the military again took charge of the city and blocked the bazars and the streets and no one was allowed to go this or that way are even to places of worship. We could not say our prayers on Id day and we could not celebrate the festival. Even now the city is under military control. Arrests are regularly being made. Yesterday on 28th May, 12 volunteers were arrested. The people cannot give evidence freely before the Government Enquiry Committee. The Enquiry Committee is also surrounded by a military Guard. No one is allowed to enter except the Government officers. They also harass the people who intend to come here. They threaten that persons giving evidence at Rawalpindi will be arrested and imprisoned.

To the Chairman:—I have given the written statement read over to me and it is correct. I remained standing in Kabuli Gate till the leaders were made to enter the Thana. When the firing took place I reached home. When the leaders were taken in the Thana I immediately returned home. I heard firing till 4 o'clock. I am a resident of Peshawar but I am not a member of the Congress. I do not pay Income Tax. I own one house in Peshawar, but I have no land. As the Military Pickets were everywhere and the people could not go from one street to ano-

ther, so I could not go to Kabuli Gate. We could not move in our own street about 20 paces. Under such difficulties I had to confine myself in the house. On the third day we came out and there was peace on that day. For three days the Congress, the Khilafat and Naujawan Bharat Sabha Volunteers guarded the city. It was rumoured that the police was removed because the Government desired that the city might be attacked and looted by the tribesmen. But the volunteers guarded the city and therefore no such thing happened. I like that system of guarding, which guarantees peace. We do not like oppressors. I was threatened while coming here, and was told that if I went to give evidence I should be arrested. I was determined to give evidence at Rawalpindi. At Peshawar no one is prepared to hear our grievances. I have come here secretely. Some of us got in the train from Peshawar city and some from Pabbi station. I believe that this is my last statement, because I have heard that any one who comes to give evidence will be arrested.

29-5-30 (Sd.) GHULAM QADIR

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

26

The statement of Mohammad Husain, son of Mohammad Sharif, age 60 years, caste Kaker, occupation School Teacher, residence Peshawar City

We beg to submit, knowing that God is our witness, a true statement in writing of what the persecuted and unarmed people of Peshawar actually suffered on 23rd April 1930. On the 23rd April 1930 at 9 o'clock in the morning we were taking Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux Barqi in procession to the Kabuli Gate along with the police who had arrested them under warrants. When we reached the Thana we found the doors of the Thana closed. The door did not open although we had waited for about an hour. Khan Bahadur Saidullah Khan, City Magistrate, was present in the Thana. The processionists said to him that if he did not receive the leaders, they would take them to the Civil Jail. When he refused, the procession began to move back and it had hardly moved about 10 or 12 yards when the people were called back. When the procession returned the doors of the Thana were still closed. After a few minutes a wicket gate of the Thana was opened and the two leaders were admitted. After that the police arrived. The people were however going away in a peaceful manner. All at once three armoured cars rushed in. The armoured cars came in without any warning and ran over several people and five or six persons were crushed under the cars, some had their skulls crushed, while the legs of others were torn away from the body. The

car stopped after people had been crushed under the wheels. The second armoured car collided with the one in front. A Gora was riding on a motor cycle behind the first car. On account of the two cars colliding, the Gora fell down and was crushed under the second car. One of the cars caught fire. The people were busy in removing the injured persons when an officer ordered fire to be opened from the armoured car. The persons who were removing the dead and wounded were themselves wounded or killed. The firing from the cars went on for about fifteen minutes. After this about one hundred English soldiers, all armed, arrived at the spot. The people continued to remove the wounded and the dead. An English officer, with grey mustaches, ordered the English to fire. The English opened shutters of shops with their bayonets and fired at persons who were sitting inside their shops with closed doors. The firing took place three times. We cannot say as to the exact number of wounded and dead. We cannot say as to how many of the dead and the wounded were taken away in lorries. God knows to what place they were taken. Meanwhile an officer arrived at the spot with mounted Border Police. The officer ordered his Sepoys to shoot. The Jamadar having refused to fire, all the Sepoys refused. The officer became infuriated and fired with his pistol at the Jamadar. The bullet missed the Jamadar but hit the horse which died. At this time the Gharwalis refused to open fire saying that they would not shoot unarmed people. Then on 24th and 25th April 1930 the authorities themselves withdrew the troops and left the gates open. There was a rumour that the Government had asked the Khalil and Mohmand people to attack the city but they refused to do so. On 26th, 27th and 28th April 1930 the Congress took over charge of the city. A house caught fire on 3rd May. The people said that this mischief was caused by the English troops. The authorities told the Gurkha troops that their temple had been burnt by the Muhammadans. Then the Gurkhas began to treat the people harshly. At this time Mohammad Ashak, fruit-seller, asked the Gurkhas why they were ill-treating the people. The Gurkhas replied they were using force because the Mohamadans had burnt their temple. Muhamad Ashak said it was untrue and that they could see the building for themselves. It was not a temple but the house of a Hindu, which has been burnt by the English troops. Then the Gurkhas stopped their violence. At about this time Government arrested Mohamad Ashak because he had erected the 'Yadgar' (Memorial) and he was told that he would be tried under Section 302 Indian Penal Code. On 19th May 1930 at 6 a.m. in the presence of the Chief Commissioner the 'Yadgar' was destroyed by the Sappers and Miners and Mohamad Ashak was released.

On 4th May at 5 p.m. Abdul Rab, Pleader, Nishtar Vakil, Pir Bakhsh, Pleader, both Municipal Commissioners and others

were arrested because those people knew how and where Government had disposed off the dead bodies and they might disclose this fact to the people. Even upto this day (28th May 1930) people are unable to attend to their affairs. The military is in regular occupation of the city. On 4th, 5th and 6th May persecution beyond endurance was the lot of the people. People could not move from place to place. They could not go to the Mosques or Dharamsalas to say their prayers. There was no security of life and property. I am an eye witness of all occurrences. The facts I have stated are correct.

To the Chairman:—The statement has been read over to me. It is correct. I have signed the statement.

To Diwan Daulatrai:—The Government has stopped my pay because the government arrested me in 1921. The Government suspected me of being a Bolshevik. Two persons were arrested with me. Certain papers were found from my house. I was sentenced to five years imprisonment. Two of us were sentenced to five years imprisonment and the third to one year's. The papers which the Government got hold of were in the possession of another person whose name was Ghulam Habib. The person who had the papers was arrested at Nowshera. Those papers showed that I had no connection with the Bolsheviks. In spite of this at the instigation of the police I was arrested and sentenced. My admission was that the handwritting was mine but I made no confession that I was connected with the Bolsheviks. Those papers are now with the Government. Some letters were found with Ghulam Habib. All those letters, except one, were written in my handwriting In reality those were not original letters written by me but were copies of original letters made by me. The original letters did not contain the names of either the writers or the addressees. They were written on behalf of the person who was arrested and sentenced with me. The letters were intended for Mian Fazal Ilahi and Moulvi Fazal Nabi and others. The contents were to the effect that we had plenty of rain, we had good crops and plenty of fodder. We were quite well and they should let us know how they were getting on. Besides these names three or four other names were also mentioned in the letters. I do not remember their names. The persons to whom the letters were addressed lived in different places. There were six or seven letters each was addressed to a different person. One person was resident of Amritsar and another of Haripore Hazara. The witness corrected himself:—The letters were not found from my house but from the possession of another person.

I have voluntarily come here to give evidence. Nobody told me to come. I took pity on the condition of the people. I was confident that the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Congress would do justice. That is why I have come here. Also

because I had suffered from the sentence of imprisonment for five years.

29-5-30 (Sd.) MOHAMAD HUSAIN

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

27

The statement of Lala Duni Chand, Advocate of Ambala

A Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. Syed Mahmud, Dr. Kitchlew and myself was appointed by the Working Committe of the All India Congress Committee in December last to enquire into the working of repressive laws in force in the North Western Frontier Province. Dr. Syed Mahmud, myself and Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri whom we had requested to accompany us, proceeded to Peshawar on 20th April last with a view to hold the enquiry entrusted to us and when we reached Attock Railway Station on the morning of 21st April, three separate notices under the North Western Frontier Regulation of 1922 were served upon us requiring us not to enter the North Western Frontier Province and to remove ourselves immediately. The substance of the notices was that as we were about to act in a manner prejudicial to the peace and good government of the North West Frontier Province, we were ordered not to enter the North West Frontier Province. Dr. Syed Mahmud said on receipt of the notice that we were not prepared to get down from the train unless we were arrested and on this a Deputy Superintendent of Police of Peshawar said "then you are under arrest". Having been thus forced to get down from the train we were taken to the waiting room of the Attock Railway Station. After this a European Police officer said to us "you are not under arrest. You are free to go back". Upon this Dr. Syed Mahmud made an attempt to get into the train which was still standing but the door of the waiting room was bolted and we were not allowed to leave the room. After the train had left we were released from custody. Our object in visiting Peshawar and possibly certain other places in the North West Frontier Province was to hold an enquiry into the working of various repressive laws in force in that Province and submit a report to the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee.

To the President:—My name is Duni Chand, I am a Vakil. I live in Ambala. I have given a written statement in English.

30-5-30 (Sd.) DUNI CHAND

Advocate

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

28

The statement of Chela Ram, son of Jasawant Rai, caste Khattri, age 25 years, cloth merchant, residence Peshawar

I am not a member of the Congress nor of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. I am a member of the Sewa Samiti and also of the Scouts Association. The Congress announced on 22nd April 1930, that it would start picketing liquor shops on 23rd April 1930. I came to know on the morning of 23rd April 1930, that arrests have taken place and more were to take place. One procession was going towards the Kabuli Gate in my presence. Ghulam Rabani Sethi and Allah Bux had garlands of flowers round there necks and these two gentlemen were going in front of the processionists. The crowd was going in a very peaceful way shouting slogans. I also accompanied the crowd. There was a Hartal in the city. The leaders and the police reached the Kabuli Gate Police Station and after having arrived at the steps of the Police Station the people were requested to remain peaceful and continue picketing the liquor shops in accordance with the instructions of the Congress. At that time the outer door of the Police Station was shut. I was also standing near the leaders and the steps of the Police station. The leaders repeatedly asked the Police Station authorities to admit them (the leaders) inside the station; but the door was not opened. The crowd remained standing in a very peaceful manner but went on shouting "Inquilab Zindabad," etc. Those people were still standing there when I went away. I had hardly reached the Chowk when I heard sound of firing from the direction of the Kabuli Gate. I, then, went home to put on my Scouts uniform in order to be able, in time of need, to remove the wounded and provide them first aid in my capacity of a Scout. I left my uniform in the Sewa Samiti office and went towards the Chowk to find out other scouts. On the way I saw Daswandi Mal's dead body near the Chowk. In order to find out if there were any more dead bodies near by, I went towards Dhaki Nalbundi. At the entrance of this Dhaki I saw an armoured car surrounded by English and Garhwali soldiers. I came back to the office as none was allowed to go further. At that time 15 to 20 scouts had gathered in the office. We were informed that three dead bodies were lying near Dhaki Nalbundi. We went there with three stretchers and removed the dead bodies to the Congress office. We were yet making arrangements for the funeral of the dead when an Englishman came and ordered all the scouts to come out of the office, although we told him plainly that we were only scouts. On our coming out, about thirty English soldiers surrounded us with bayonets. On the way they beat some of the scouts and took us all to Gorkhatri. The Sub-Inspector took

down our names and demanded that we should execute personal bonds. We refused to execute bonds. We were released after sometime. When they arrested us at the Congress office they took away the Congress Flag and the Notice Board in our presence. We could not help in burying the dead bodies as it was quite dark when we were released. After having been released, we tried to remove the wounded and the dead bodies that were lying in the Kissa Khani, but we were not allowed to proceed further by the soldiers. The city was occupied by the troops on the 24th also and the beating of the people continued. People were not allowed to come out of their houses. All business was at a standstill. This state of affairs remained till the troops were removed from the city. After that the troops and the police evacuated the city on Friday. There was a rumour that Tribesmen might plunder the city. On seeing the city unprotected Congress volunteers began to guard the city and posted guards at the different gates to hearten the people. On 4th May 1930, the army besieged our city and posted soldiers at the entrance of every lane and street. On the night of 3rd May 1930; a house inside the city had caught fire to extinguish which a great number of people had collected. These people could not reach their respective homes because of the city having been besieged by the army, and were confined to that place till the evening. No arrangements could be made for feeding all these people. In the evening 15 to 20 minutes were given to the people to go away; but even then all the people could not reach their respective homes. Many a man had to spend the night in the Sewa Samiti office. Because I live in the city proper and am a member of the Sewa Samiti, I know that many people could not reach their homes. All the bazars were closed because of the occupation. Hence the difficulties of the people about provisions. Those women who lived on their daily wages and those women who had none but themselves to buy provisions from the bazar had to go without meals. With my own eyes I have seen women inside the city and in the streets of Rampura in such a helpless condition that words fail me to express it. On 4th May, inside the city near the Chowk, many people had closed their shops and were sitting outside. Two gentlemen, Mohamad Usman and Acharj Ram were coming under arrest. When they reached the middle of the Chowk they shouted 'Inquilab Zindabad.' In response the crowd had hardly once shouted 'Inquilab Zindabad,' when the police began beating the people with lathis. The people, then, began to run away; and the police pursued the running people and beat them with lathis. One man, Lahori Mal by name, received severe injuries and has been confined to bed for many a day and many other men were wounded. The bazars inside the city are very narrow. About twenty-five

to thirty horses in rows of three were galloping in the bazar and streets and whoever came in the way was beaten. Many people were injured. Unwarranted violence was committed on the people. There was no fear of violence from the people. The English soldiers, in order to terrify the people, entered every lane and street and terrified and threatened women and children. This state of affairs went on and people were beaten. While I was passing through the bye lane of Rampura street one English soldier hit me on my left shoulder with the butt-end of his rifle. The impression of it is still on my shoulder. This happened probably on 4th May. I am a partner in the firm of Sher Mohammed Zaman Din, Cloth Merchant. This firm pays Rs.1,700 as income-tax. My share is 0|5|0 in a rupee. I have given a written statement This statement has been read out to me. I have accepted it to be true and have signed it.

I did not take any dead body to the Sewa Samiti office. On that day I did not go to the office of the Khilafat Committee. I went to the Congress office in order to bring khaddar for the shroud of three dead bodies. I did not see an armoured car ablaze, nor saw them coming. I have heard about the motor cyclist; I have not seen. I remained at the Kabuli Gate for about half an hour. The Dhaki is in front of the Kabuli Gate. There was an immense crowd. There must have been about 5,000 people. Because the city was on strike many people had come. The people had no lathis or any other weapon in their hands. I did not see stones in anyone's hands.

Q. Do you know the names of any of those who died or were wounded on 23rd April 1930?

A. I only know the name of Daswandi Mal from amongst those who died. One Gopi Chand son of Budhu Mal, Petition writer, has been wounded on the foot. Gopi Chand must be about 12 or 13 years of age. I do not know the name of any one else of those who died. I do not know the exact number of deaths; but I think that about 300 to 400 must have been wounded and dead and many other unknown must have died. The Sewa Samiti made out a list of all those who were admitted into the hospital and whom Sewa Samiti has been providing with milk. The Hospital is called, the Lady Reading Hospital. This list is in the Sewa Samiti office. I do not remember the exact number. Dr. Mohkam Chand is the President of the Sewa Samiti. The scouts had been doing the work of looking after the wounded. The Organising Scout Commissioner of these scouts is Mehta Kirpa Ram. He can come; but so long as peace is not restored many people cannot come to give evidence. Congress bulletins used to be stuck in every Mohalla of the city and every lane of the Mohalla. I saw one bulletin. In that bulletin 105 was given as the number of dead and wounded. Again I saw another

bulletin, in which the number of dead and wounded was 179. This bulletin that contained 179 as dead and wounded was with me. That I gave to Shiv Ram Dalpati at Campbellpore station asking him to give it to Pandit Malviyaji. Shiv Ram Dalpati had gone to Campbellpore to get khaddar, etc., at the command of the Mahabir Dal. I have seen other bulletins too; but I cannot exactly say as to what those bulletins contained.

To Dewan Daulatrai:—I do not know the name of the Sub-Inspector who took down our names as mentioned by me above. I can identify him. He was a Musalman. I saw a crowd in the Chowk to which they go through the Kissa Khani. They were carrying dead bodies on the charpoys. I was coming to campbellpore with many leaflets by the pro-Government people as well as the Congress people for Malviyaji, who, I thought, would be at Campbellpore and for buying khaddar for myself. When I reached the Peshawar Cantonment station, C. I. D. people took down my name. The C. I. D. people travelled in the train with me. I threw away the papers outside the railway compartment because I was afraid of those C. I. D. people. The C. I. D. searched me and a companion of mine. When this is the state of affairs, how could papers come from Peshawar. I threw away the papers between the telegraph posts 566|5 and 566|6. The Secretary of the Congress Committee who is a Sikh gentleman recovered the bulletin in which 179 people were mentioned as dead, etc. After reaching campbellpore I told the Secretary as to how I threw the papers outside the railway campartment and also told him the numbers of the telegraph posts. The incident happened like this: When I reached Campbellpore I told the Secretary everything as to how and why I threw the papers. This place was near the Campbellpore station signal. The Secretary sent his younger brother to fetch the papers from that place. The boy fetched from that place only the bulletin mentioned by me above and a sheet of the news-paper in which the papers I had thrown away were wrapped. I took that bulletin from him and gave it to Shiv Ram Dalpati Commandant of the volunteers so that he may give it to Shri Malviyajee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) CHELA RAM

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

29

The statement of Mian Gul Hasan, son of Mian Abdul Rashid Afghan, aged 30 years, Mohalla Marwi, residence Peshawar

On 23rd of April 1930, several national leaders were arrested. Two had yet to be apprehended and were taken under arrest at

9 a.m. I accompanied the procession escorting them to the Police Station and as soon as they entered the Thana I returned home. Reaching home I heard firing and a little later when I came out I was told that there had been 14 or 15 casualties. On reaching Kissa Khani I saw the corpse of a horse lying there. Thereafter firing was again resorted to at 2, resulting in heavy mortalities. There were about 60 dead bodies which I removed in company with Illahi Bux. I do not know the exact number, but there was a large number of the wounded. When we went to Kissa Khani Bazar in order to remove the dead bodies, 6 of us were also shot dead. Therefore we left Kissa Khani Bazar and commenced collecting dead bodies lying in the surrounding bye-lanes. Had there been an opportunity to remove the wounded lying in the Kissa Khani Bazar and timely aid had been rendered to them, there was hope of saving a large number of lives.

Thereafter, none of the dead and wounded could be traced and it was not known where they had been disposed of. On the following day, I found the Bazar thoroughly cleared and washed. It was with great difficulty that we could carry to the hospital those of the wounded whom we had been able to remove from the bye-lanes. I had seen a large number of dead bodies in Kissa Khani Bazar on the 23rd. I am a Congress volunteer and also a Khilafat volunteer. There was absolutely no violence from the people's side during all these days. In my presence the people were perfectly peaceful on the 23rd and no one had an axe or a staff in his hands. After the leaders had entered the Police Station, a large number returned like myself.

To the Chairman:—I have submitted my written statement. I am a Congress and also a Khilafat volunteer. On 23rd April 1930, I in company with others brought dead bodies to the office of the Khilafat Committee. One of them was Illahi Bux. We brought nearly 60 dead bodies and out of them 6 were of those volunteers who had been shot down while they were attempting to carry the dead after having placed them on the stretchers. We were, in all, about 15 to 16 volunteers. We lifted the dead bodies and entrusted them to others. We, the volunteers, proceeded ahead, as we had volunteer's belts and people said that persons wearing the belts would not be shot at. We entrusted the dead bodies, after removal, to other people who conveyed them to the Khilafat office. The volunteers were shot in the act of removing the dead which resulted in the death of 6 volunteers.

The witness dictated their names from Ex. (1):—

1. Lale, son of (not known), Mochipura.
2. Abdul Jalil, son of Daood.
3. Illahi Bux, son of Mohmad Saddiq.
4. Mir Ghulam Shah, son of Ajaib Shah of Bajwadi

Darwaza.

5. Abdul Majid son of Gul.

6. Mohmad Saiyed, son of Fazal Ahmed of Dabgari Gate.

All these were very wellknown to me. Amongst those in this list I also knew the following who were residents of Peshawar.

1. Ghulam Jan, son of Jumma Khan of Mohalla Sher Khan.

2. Fazal Rahman, son of Sultan.

3. Malang Shah, son of Ahmed Shah of Kakram, Dabgari, Peshawar.

4. Qumar Gul, son of Khan Gul, Kulab Khana, Afridi.

5. Ghulam Mohmad, son of Ghulam Jilani, resident of Peshawar, Mohalla Gandi Vehra.

6. Ghulam Safdar, son of Jamal—his dead body was handed over to his relatives.

7. Rehmat, son of Karim, resident Bajwari Gate, who died in hospital. We took him to hospital through Doctor Khan Sahib, brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, but he died there.

The list Ex. (1) shown to me was prepared by our Commander Ellahi Bux. All the dead bodies were lying below the Khilafat office. The names of the deceased were ascertained from such of the relatives who happened to come there. Those of the dead have been termed as 'Mussafirs' (strangers or outsiders) who could not be definitely indentified as belonging to the city by the citizens collected there, and also had the appearance of strangers.

Amongst the dead strangers we discovered one who had been seen carrying a child on his shoulders at the time of firing in the Kissa Khani Bazar. We had brought his dead body to the Khilafat office. By his side a child was found lying. We lifted the child also who is now with a blacksmith of Mohalla Bagdaran, Peshawar, who had begged us to give the child to him. It is still with that blacksmith. I also knew Ghulam Jan, son of Jumma Khan of Mohalla Shekhan. He has also died. His dead body was not brought to the Khilafat office. His name is also entered in Ex. I. I also knew Illahi Bux, son of Mohmad Saddiq. He had also died. I also knew Chaudhri Samad Ullah, son of Mohmad Butt Kashmiri of Chakla. He had been crushed under the armoured car and was taken to the hospital where he expired at 12 midnight. His dead body was not in the Khilafat office. Of the wounded, I know a Kashmiri resident of Chakla and the name of the other was Mohammad Din Gilkar whom we had removed to the hospital, where his leg was amputated and he died 15 or 20 days later. Previously he resided in Mohalla Jatan, Peshawar, and afterwards resided in village Akbarpura.

He was originally a resident of Peshawar. He died at Peshawar. His dead body was taken to his married sister at Akbarpura for burial as he had no relative at Peshawar. His name appears against No. 39 in the list of wounded Ex. F. Mohalla Jatan is also known as Mohalla Marwi Khan. I cannot say how many of the wounded whose names had appeared in the Congress list died subsequently. About 250 to 300 persons died belonging to the city and outside. The wounded are in addition to this number. We could not remove the dead bodies from the bazar as our volunteers had been shot. The troops were stationed on either side of the bazar. There were people in bye-lanes also. The white soldiers shot them also, if they caught a glimpse of them.

To Diwan Daulatrai.—The dead bodies were mainly removed from the bye-lanes as we had given up the attempt to remove the dead bodies lying in the bazar since our volunteers had been shot down in trying to remove them. A dog was shot near the Arya Samaj which is situated in a lane.

This place where the dog was shot is at a distance of 500 feet from the bazar from where it can be seen. Greater number of dead bodies were lying in the bazar and they were much greater in number than those in the bye-lanes. There must naturally have been a much heavier number of deaths in the bazar where the people had been shot by machine-gun while 60 to 70 dead bodies were discovered from the bye-lanes alone.

Q. You removed bodies from the lanes? Did you see any one with a lathi? Or did you see any one pelting stones from the lanes?

A. Not at all.

Q. Did you see horses going into the lanes?

A. I saw a dead horse in Kissa Khani Bazar.

30-5-30 (Sd.) GUL HUSSAIN

Read out to the witness and signed by the witness in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

30

The statement of Kotu Ram, son of Ishar Das, age 30 years, occupation Pleader, residence Bannu

After the Lahore Congress the work of the Congress at Bannu began in right earnest. For two or three months meetings and processions were carried on peacefully and during that period there was opposition offered by the officials. Official oppression began with the arrest of S. Ram Singh of the Congress under Sec. 124-A I. P. C. He was convicted and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. After that two more

Congress volunteers were arrested and sentenced to three years under Sec. 40, Frontier Regulations. On the arrest of S. Ram Singh a procession was taken out. Somebody out of that procession threw mud upon the police. On this the police began to shower lathi blows upon the people. Congress volunteers and other people sustained injuries but remained non-violent. The members of the Bar protested against the police high-handedness. On 23rd April Congressmen expressed a desire to picket the liquor shops. News came from Peshawar that a riot had taken place there and the Congress Committee declared an unlawful body. Till that time the Bannu people had done nothing at all by way of use of force. On 14th May the Bannu Congress Committee was also declared an unlawful body. The city of Bannu which is protected by a wall all round was guarded by the military. The gates were shut. Nobody was allowed to go out or come in without a permit from the authorities. Only two gates were kept open for coming in or going out with permits. The permits were only allowed to Government servants. On that day the people of Bannu had done nothing involving violence and had taken no part in any unlawful gathering. In spite of that police began to shower lathi blows on the passers-by in the bazar. The people wearing Gandhi caps and Khaddar clothes were made special points of attack. Their caps and clothes were snatched away and clothes were torn and they were beaten. Other persons who were neither wearing Gandhi caps nor Khaddar clothes were also beaten likewise. A gentleman by name Sushill Kumar, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Bannu, who has no concern with the Congress movement was beaten, unfortunately, while passing in the bazar. Every resident of the Bannu Bazar fully believes that the Gandhi caps were burnt openly in the bazar and the men who were wearing Khaddar clothes and happened to come across any official were deprived of their clothes which were torn. On account of this police beating, 15th May was declared a Hartal day in Bannu. This Hartal continued for five days. The authorities tried their level best to end the Hartal but they failed. This Hartal ended on 28th May. This fact is also borne out by many persons that many Congress volunteers were not only given a beating but also made naked. In face of all this people remained quite peaceful and non-violent. During these days, i.e., from 15th to 20th May when the whole town observed Hartal the officials failed to induce people to open their shops. The authorities on 16th May stopped entry of provisions for human and animal consumption inside the town. On 17th May provisions for cattle were totally stopped. The villagers from outside threw the fodder from over the walls inside the town. It is said that the military men felt very uneasy on account of the stoppage of fodder. Hence the officials allowed the entry of fodder on 18th

May. I have personal knowledge of the fact that fodder was not allowed entry except on 18th May, upto the time of my departure from Bannu. The people of Bannu had done nothing violent so far as I know and have come to know. The gates were opened on 20th but they remained guarded by the military and the city was patrolled by the Danda police. Since three or four days the military has been removed and the Danda police also was removed. The number of arrests at Bannu is about 50 or 55. They included pleaders, Lambardars and other respectable persons and sons of pleaders.

To the Chairman:—I am a pleader and resident of Bannu. I have put in a written statement which is read over to me and I admit it to be correct.

I was a member of the Congress Committee. Mohamad Karab Khan was the President of the Congress Committee. Since the Lahore Congress I was not doing the work of the Congress with zeal on account of some domestic affairs. I am a lawyer and fully realise the consequences of my statement. I am quite prepared to abide by the consequences. I have taken this risky step to reveal all the true facts before the Country. I have given a typed statement in detail about what happened at Bannu. As the Chairman thinks that that statement contains some irrelavent matters, hence this short statement is submitted.

Q. You have said that on account of some domestic affairs you were not taking much active part in the Congress work. Have those affairs undergone a change now?

A. No.

Q. Why do you take the risk involved in giving evidence before us?

A. I hesitated a great deal at first and once when I had packed my luggage and prepared to come here, I unpacked it. But at last I could not restrain myself. The present condition of the Country forced me to do my duty and to disregard personal interest because the people of Bannu are continuing to observe non-violence and are suffering such hardships and trials. I thought it obligatory upon me to lay the true facts before the Country.

30-5-30. (Sd.) KOTU RAM

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30. (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

31

The statement of Abaidullah, son of Dr. Khan Sahib, caste Afghan, occupation Zamindari, residence Mauza Utmanzai, Tehsil Charsadda District Peshawar

On 25th May 1930, on the arrest of 4 members of the Jirga, at the village Takar, Tehsil Mardan, a procession was taken out to sympathise with them. At first the number that joined the procession was small. When the procession reached Gujargarhi, the crowd numbered about 50,000. Gujargarhi is at a distance of 3 miles from Mardan. In the meantime the Assistant Commissioner and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mardan, reached the spot and they informed the leaders of the procession that they wanted to disperse the crowd within five minutes. The local leaders requested that ten minutes may be given. The British officers did not agree to this, and at the orders of the Assistant Commissioner, the Assistant Superintendent of Police and the police constables began beating the people by "dandas" and numerous men and women were injured. At that time women cried out, "Ham bawajud Pathan honeke ek admika bhi muquabila nahin kar sakte?". Inspite of our being pathans, cannot we stand up against one man?" In the meantime a person in white clothes threw a stone at the police officer. Suddenly it struck him on the head and he fell and the women also began throwing stones. We heard this as well that the person who hit had absconded. He said he had personal enmity with him. That is why he had struck him. The Officer died subsequently. After that the next day, the Assistant Commissioner with cavalry and a regiment besieged Gujargarhi, houses were looted and numerous people were beaten. Twenty volunteers (Khudai Khidmatgar) were arrested. Damage is estimated at about Rs. 80,000. After that upto 27th May armed soldiers and cavalry having besieged Takar, set fire to Hujra Qasim Khan and Hujra Gul Khan. Fifty volunteers and three others (sufedposhes) were arrested. Labourers, having been affected by the cries of women and children and having seen the smoke, came, with a view to put out the fire but the military did not allow them to get near. When the crowd increased the military officer wanted to disperse by giving orders to fire. As a result of the shower of bullets, people receded to the West from the South. Twenty-one machine guns were directed towards them and order to fire was given. There were trees in between and most of the bullets struck against the trees. Twenty-five labourers died and about 40 were seriously injured, of whom most are in a precarious condition. At the time of withdrawal at 12 noon, the military looted the houses, of which some were burnt The loss is approximately Rs.50,000.

To the Chairman:—I am a nephew of Khan Sahib Abdul

Ghaffar Khan. My age is 21. I am a student. I am a resident of Utmanzai, District Peshawar. I am a Mohamedan Afghan. I have given a written statement. It is in my own handwriting and is correct. I have seen no incident with my own eyes.

Q. Why did you come here?

A. I came to tell all this. I sent 2 persons for enquiry, whose names are, Mohammad Karim and Ajaïb Gul. These two men were sent on behalf of the Afghan Youth League. The membership of the league consist of about a hundred. The volunteers of the Youth League are known as "Servants of God," (Khudai Khidmatgar). The volunteers number about a lakh. They are under the Youth League. The President of the Youth League is Khushal Khan. The first President Abdul Akbar has been arrested. He was arrested along with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan on 23-4-30. Five persons were arrested in all. A pledge is taken from every volunteer and they swear that they will treat all human beings like brothers and they will serve humanity and they will stick to non-violence. Ladies have a separate volunteer corps. Children of 7, 8, and 10 years have a separate one, which numbers about 1,000. The number of lady volunteers is about 200. The women have taken the same pledge. My father was a Captain in the Indian Medical Service. He resigned because he did not like to serve the Government. He now has a private practice. My two brothers are studying in England. A cousin of mine is also studying there. The Youth League has Independence as its object.

Q. For North West Frontier Province only?

A. No, for the whole of India. Persons of all religions have joined the League. The details about the volunteers are in the office. It will be produced. All the volunteers assemble once in a year. Volunteers numbering 8,000 or 10,000 hold meetings in villages. Apart from this other persons in white clothes also attend the meetings. Youth League has been established for the last one year. The word, "Khudai Khidmatgar" is known for the last one year. They were known as N.-W. F. volunteers before and they numbered 400 or 500.

Q. Can you recognise the Chief Commissioner?

A. I know him. I have no personal connection with him. Our volunteers have red uniforms. Our volunteers are in every village. Such villages where our volunteers are to be found are about 200.

Q. Why have you made red uniforms for your volunteers? Have you anything to do with the Bolsheviks?

A. It was done with the consent of the volunteers but it has nothing to do with the Bolsheviks. Amongst our volunteers, there are many rich people and men of property. They are big

Zamindars. Most of our leaders are Zamindars. About 400 persons had joined the Lahore Congress from Peshawar. 'Khudai Khidmatgar' did not go to the Congress because they were not invited. We have the same flag as the Congress. We have the same object as the Congress. I have heard the name of the Haji of Turangzai. We have no connection with him, nor has my uncle. He has no personal relations with him, though he may have heard his name. My uncle has a great influence in the whole of Afghanistan.

30-5-30 (Sd.) ABAIDULLAH

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

32

The statement of Rajendra Nath, son of Dewan Ram Chand, caste Khanna, age 17 years, student, National School, Peshawar

I am a member of the Congress Committee and I am also a volunteer. On the night of 22nd April I came to know that warrants had been issued for the arrest of some leaders. On the morning of 23rd when I went to the office of the Congress Committee I saw that Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bukhsh Barqi were present there. After a short while the police with lorries came. The leaders exhorted the people to remain peaceful and surrendered themselves to the police. Like other people I also accompanied the lorry. Near the Kutchery Gate the lorry got punctured. The Leaders went towards the Thana along with the crowd and peacefully reached the Thana. After sometime they entered the Thana. I came back. I did not see anything in the hands of the people, and I came home. Then I went to Nowshera. In the evening when I came back the whole of the city was occupied by the military and all the gates were closed. I entered by a breach in the wall. The military Zulam had increased so much that even women, children and the aged were not safe from their violence. For several days the people stopped all work.

To the Chairman:—My father is dead. I have three other brothers. My elder brother is in jail and I have two younger brothers. I have given a written statement. It is correct.

Q. Who sent you here?

A. I have come myself. I saw in the papers that an Enquiry was being held in Rawalpindi.

I have come to narrate the Zulam which was practised upon the people since 23-4-30. I have not suffered anything. I have come to state what Zulam (oppression) I witnessed being in-

flicted on the people.

30-5-30 (Sd.) RAJENDRA NATH

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

33

The statement of Kishan Chand, son of Meher Chand Kapoor, age 24 years, occupation shopkeeper, residence Peshawar

When I arrived in the Congress office, the leaders were being carried away after arrest. I also accompanied them. On the way the motor in which the leaders were sitting was punctured. Then the leaders accompanied the crowd on foot and proceeded towards the Thana The people reached the Thana in a very peaceful manner. After a short time the leaders entered the Thana and the people began to disperse gradually. I also started towards the Congress office. I was sitting in the office when a volunteer came and intimated that several people had been trampled upon by an armoured car inside the Kabuli Gate. I went towards the Kissa Khani bazar along with Usman and others. We saw that an armoured car was on fire and there were two other cars standing and about two or three corpses were also lying. We picked up the corpses and sent them to the Khilafat office and I went away from that place. In the evening while I was present in the Congress office the Peshawar Seva Samiti people brought three corpses. At the same time the British soldiers came and arrested the Seva Samiti people and took them away. Amongst them there were three Congressmen as well. Congress flag and notice board etc. were taken away while the corpses remained in the office. I went home. During the night of 3rd May 1930, a fire broke out in the city. The people were extinguishing the fire till morning and when they were about to return after extinguishing the fire, the army arrived and occupied all the streets. The people were stopped from proceeding to their houses during the whole day and on account of this, they suffered a good deal of hardship in the matter of food etc. Their families and children were put to great hardship. On the 4th May 1930, in Andar Shaher, I saw Usman and Acharaj Ram arrested and being taken towards the Clock Tower. When they reached the crossing they shouted "Inquilab Zindabad". As soon as the people in their turn replied by shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad" the mounted police attacked the people and beat them, of whom one Lahori Mal is known to me who was present there. On 20th and 21st May while we were sitting in our shops in the morning the British troops with the Sikhs came all of a sudden and began to beat. The

people forcibly closed their shops. I was obliged to close my shop and go home.

To the Chairman:—I have given my written statement which has been read over to me; it is correct. I have signed the same. I remained near the Kabuli Gate for about half an hour. When I went there armoured cars had not arrived. When the leaders went inside the Thana I went back to the Congress office. When a report was received in the Congress office that people have been trampled under the armoured cars, I came at that time. On arrival I saw armoured cars. One armoured car was burning and two were simply standing. Five or seven minutes after, the fire engine arrived. At that time, I along with other companions took the corpses away. We carried two corpses. One was carried by the Khilafat volunteers.

30-5-30 (Sd.) KISHAN CHAND

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

34

The statement of Dev Raj, son of L. Sarda Ram, Rajput, aged 19 years, student, residence, Peshawar City

On 12-4-30 there was a public meeting in Shahi Bag on behalf of the Congress. In this meeting a responsible group under the leadership of Ali Gul broke the Salt Law; and notice was given to the Liquor merchants to stop the sale before 23-4-30, otherwise their shops would be picketed on 23-4-30. As no reply came from Liquor merchants, on 22-4-30 it was announced that picketing would start from the morning of 23-4-30. On the morning of 23rd when I started from my house with the idea of seeing the picketing and reached the shop of S. Milap Singh Azad in Karimpura, I heard from the people that on that day at 4 a.m. the Congress and Khilafat leaders were arrested, and the people were observing Hartal. I started towards the Congress office to see what was happening there. On arrival I saw many people gathered there. After a short time one lorry loaded with police came and stopped at the Congress office. Congress people came down and the Inspector of Police showed the warrants to Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bakhsh Barqi, and having arrested them he put them in the lorry and started towards the Kutchery Gate. As the lorry was going slowly on account of the big crowd, I also joined the crowd, and followed the lorry. Near the Kutchery Gate the lorry was punctured. The leaders accompanied by the police and the crowd went towards Kabuli Gate. When we reached near the Thana we found its gates closed. The public along with their leaders

stopped on a Chabutra opposite the Thana and the Bazar, and began to shout "Inquilab Zindabad," "Ghulam Rabbani Zindabad." After some time, the wicket gate of the Thana was opened and the two leaders with an Inspector of Police entered into the Thana and asked the people to remain peaceful and to keep the Congress movement alive. The crowd began to disperse and when it was dispersing a few armoured cars came with great speed without blowing the horn and ran over the people. The people tried to escape but owing to the large crowd could not do so. The first armoured car crushed many people, the number was 11 or 12. Out of them I knew Daswandhi Ram. Some corpses of Mohamedans on charpoy were carried by me, and they were brought to the Khilafat office. The number of them was three. After leaving the dead at the Khilafat Office, when we went back to Kabuli Gate for removing more dead, we saw the Superintendent of Police with about 30 sowars going towards Kabuli Gate very fast. We also ran after him. When we reached near the shop of Makhan Mal, dealer in flour, situated near a water pump in Kissa Khani, I saw with my own eyes the firing from the armoured car. As I was not in the line of firing I stopped there. After a short time the firing ceased, and armoured cars arrived near the place where I was standing. The people were peaceful and used no violence of any sort. Thy were indeed busy removing the martyrs and the injured. On this the British soldiers, in order to keep the people away from the martyrs and the injured, started firing from the armoured cars. Some people thinking that firing might again take place ran away in fright. Nevertheless many persons did not desist from removing the martyrs and the wounded. In spite of such efforts the people could only remove in my presence 7 bodies. Amongst the above-mentioned dead there was my friend Ilahi Bakhsh, student of the Islamia College. I carried him myself. We took all the dead to the Khilafat office. After that I, with Anant Ram, again went to Kissa Khani Bazar, we saw that from the Gate upto the water pump there were British soldiers all over the place and they did not allow anybody to go further. I also saw that one motor was burning and the flames were rising. On seeing the repression by the British soldiers I and my friend slowly returned, and the public was also retiring slowly. The British soldiers were coming behind hitting the people with their bayonets and rifles. So much so that these soldiers reached Bazar Hatta. The people on seeing the ill-treatment by the British soldiers and for saving the life and honour of their famlies tried to blockade their passage with carts. The British soldiers fired and dispersed them, they removed the carts from the way and continued their uncalled for violence upto Rampura. On reaching Rampura they ran after several people and assaulted them and injured

many. After that the Bazar on the way was closed and the people were discussing the atrocities committed by the authorities and were sitting in front of their closed shops. On 24th and 25th there was a complete Hartal and the city was in the hands of the Military. On 26th and 27th the Police and Military deserted the city, and left it unguarded. For two days the Congress and the Khilafat volunteers guarded the city.

The rumour was persistent that the Government wanted to have the city looted by the neighbouring tribes and to create communal riots. All the citizens were impressing upon each other the necessity of avoiding such a situation. This apprehension was supported by the fact that a little before this a bomb was thrown on a Sikh and it was given out that some Mohamadan had done that. This was all done to create a riot and to defeat the Congress cause. No stones were thrown by the people on the Superintendent of Police who was going in company with sowars in great hurry towards Kabuli Gate as abovementioned. None of the public threw stones at them, and no one tried to obstruct the officers. The people were busy in collecting the injured and the dead. They had no time to obstruct the Military. On 27th night the military again came to the city.

To the Chairman:—The people who accompanied the leaders going towards the Kabuli Gate did not carry anything in their hands. The armoured car arrived in my presence. I did not see any Englishman falling from a motor-cycle. I was on the front side of the armoured car, whatever happened behind it I could not see.

My attention was drawn towards the injured. I am a member of the Khilafat Committee and also a volunteer of the Congress.

30-5-30 (Sd.) Dev Raj

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

35

The statement of Fazal Mohammad, son of Haji Ghulam Hussain, Caste Qureshi, age 32 years, occupation shop-keeper, residence Peshawar

The Congress announced on 22nd April that liquor shops would be picketed the next day. On 23rd morning I came to know that the leaders had been arrested. I am a Congress volunteer, so I went to the Congress office. Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux were there. After this we went to picket.

Owing to the arrest of the leaders there was a complete Hartal. There was a huge crowd in the city. We came back to the office. Two police lorries came and stood beneath our office. Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux were arrested and taken away. Shortly afterwards I went on a bicycle to see the picketing. When I reached the Kabuli Gate, I saw a huge crowd which was getting bigger and bigger. I did not see the leaders as they had already been taken into the Thana and people had commenced dispersing. So I again started on my errand. On the way I saw three armoured cars coming from the Jail side at a terrific speed. As I left the Kabuli Gate, I found the police sitting in the shade of the Thana wall. On returning from Dabgari Bazar towards the Kabuli Gate I saw several people running about as if they were mad. When I reached the Kabuli Gate I saw that two armoured cars were standing in the city and one at the gate. In front and behind the first car were lying the dead and the wounded and people were removing them. I recognised one Daswandi Ram. People were raising national cries on seeing the wounded. Certain people who could not tolerate the sight of the dead and the wounded threw stones at the armoured cars. I thought that people being restless and on seeing the wounded, were throwing stones. The result would be serious. All of them would be shot down because the intention of the Government was quite clear. Then I returned to the office where I informed Mohmad Usman as to what I had seen. Shortly afterwards the dead bodies and the wounded were brought in. The bearers said that firing had taken place twice. Then the number of the dead bodies increased. The bearers said that it was with great difficulty that they had been able to remove the dead bodies from the streets as firing was going on then and that no one could remove the dead bodies from Kissa Khani owing to the English regiment being there.

On the next day the English troops were in the city, business was stopped and the Military was attacking the people. On the evening of 23rd April the English troops raided the Congerss office and took away the Flags and sign boards. On 4th May Congress office was raided by the English troops. When I reached near the office I was told by the volunteers that the office had been raided and I saw the troops surrounding the office. I saw certain injured volunteers. I also saw that several volunteers were lying unconscious in Karim Pura. I know two of them. They are Lt. Gul Mohamad and Ali Haider Shah. The English troops took away everything from the office. After this such condition prevailed for several days. Business was closed. I told several eye witnesses to go to Pindi to give evidence. They are very much frightened. They did not come here lest they should be arrested. It was with great difficulty that I pursuaded

some of them to come and give evidence. The C. I. D. people tell the people that the witnesses on their return will be arrested.

To the Chairman:—My statement signed by me has been read over to me. It is correct.

I am a Congress volunteer. Before this I was a Khilafat volunteer and also the leader of the Khilafat volunteers. On 23rd April I was a Congress volunteer. About 20 days before the occurrence I resigned from the leadership of the Khilafat volunteers. On 23rd I did not go to the Khilafat office. The keys were with me. They did not accept my resignation nor did they take the charge from me. I sent the keys with Abdul Rashid, volunteer.

1,000 and 2,000 people. Several people were coming back and

Q. (Chairman): From where did the people bring stones that were hurled at the car?

A. There were no stones over there. Somebody must have thrown a pebble. One threw his shoe on seeing his brethren being killed.

I stood near the Kabuli Gate for a short while. Then I went round several parts of the city to see if the 5 liquor shops were properly picketed. I had seen four and wanted to see the fifth. For that I had to pass through the Kabuli Gate. On approaching the Kabuli Gate I found a big crowd between several were going on. The crowd was raising the national cries "Inquilab Zindabad", "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai," "Bharat Mata ki jai," etc. I went out of the Kabuli Gate. I saw about 200 police sepoys outside the gate. I was going on a cycle to Dabgari Gate to see the fifth liquor shop. There are two gates to pass through. They are called Bijori Gate. One can see the whole road from there. I saw 3 armoured cars proceeding at a terrific speed towards the Kabuli Gate along that road. I could see the car proceeding along that road.

Q. What is the distance between Bijori Gate and Kabuli Gate?

A. Between 500 and 600 paces.

Q. When did you again go to the Kabuli Gate?

A. After seeing the picketing, I came back to the Kabuli Gate because it had occurred to me that these cars, going at such terrific speed, were sure to do some sort of mischief.

Q. Did a shoe or a small stone hit anybody?

A. I do not know whether it hit anybody or not. I did not see the Deputy Commissioner. I know him. Had he been there I would have recognized him. On returning I saw one car standing at the gate and the other two inside the gate. I saw the wounded and dead bodies in the bazar. Some people

were removing them and others were trying to remove them.

I did not see the firing going on nor the armoured car ablaze. When the English troops arrived I told the people to get aside lest they should be fired at because the people were raising national cries. When the English troops arrived, the car was not on fire. On 23rd about 80 to 90 dead bodies were brought in the Congress office I was told by the volunteers that these dead bodies had been picked up from streets. Those lying in the Bazar could not be picked up as troops were stationed there. A volunteer told me that if you go to the Bazar to pick up the dead bodies, the military would fire at you. That is why we could not bring them. A dead body of a woman was brought but six Khilafat volunteers were killed. No Congress volunteer was killed. I know two of the dead—Daswandi Ram and Abdul Majid. Daswandi Ram's number is 11 in Ex. F. and that of Abdul Majid is 24. I saw the dead body of Daswandi Ram. I laid it down on a cot. Later on his son came and took it away. Daswandi Ram was run over by the armoured car.

Q. Did you hear any noise of firing on the night of 25th?

A. No sir. Next morning I saw blood stains near the bridge. (At this stage the newspaper "Sarhad" dated 29th April was read over to the witness and he was asked whether he could verify it). What has been read over to me is as follows:—

On the night of 24th the sound of firing was heard. Next morning blood stains were noticed near Clock Tower and Dhaki Dalgaran. One could think that several innocent Mohammadans had been mercilessly killed the previous night and their bodies removed. Though I did not hear any sound of firing because my house was at a distance yet the statement in the above paper seems to be true.

On 24th morning Sec. 144 Cr. Pr. C. was promulgated in the city. Then a dead body was brought from the hospital and a procession taken out and the law was defied. The English troops were watching the procession. They had rifles in their hands. They got ready to fire. Then some Indian officer told them that this was a funeral procession. Eventually they did not fire.

Q. Did you hear that on the night of 23rd April the English troops removed a dead body from the Khilafat office?

A. Yes, I heard that they took away some dead bodies from beneath the Khilafat office. When I saw the people standing outside the Kabuli Gate, they were not armed.

Q. In the meetings of the Khilafat or Congress have you seen anything in the hands of the people?

A. Before 23rd April I never saw anything in the hands

of the people who attended the Congress and Khilafat meetings. I also never heard of any Khilafat or Congress people resorting to violence. They have always kept their creed of non-violence.

Q. Who was the Editor of "Sarhad"?

A. Taj was the editor. He has been arrested. He has been in gaol for the last one year. The owner is Yusufi. He too has been arrested.

Q. Kissa Khani Bazar is very large. Are there any marks of bullets?

A. Yes, sir.

31-5-30 (Sd.) FAZAL MOHAMAD

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

30-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

36

The statement of Mohammad Saleem, son of Abdul Rashid, occupation cobbler, age 14 years, residence Peshawar City

On the morning of 23rd April, Wednesday, I heard that the leaders were arrested and taken to the Kabuli Gate Thana. I too went there myself. I saw a huge crowd there and the road and the platform of the Thana were full of people. I stood there facing the Thana. All of a sudden without any warning of any sort, armoured cars came along. They did not sound any horn. The armoured cars came right over us. I was at the Thana Gate at the distance of nearly 6 yards from it. All of a sudden the car struck against my left side and I fell towards the platform of the Thana. The part of the car that hit me was very hot. I immediately got up. I saw several people crushed under the armoured car. Most of them were in a very precarious condition. Then I became unconscious and fell down. When I regained consciousness I found myself in my house. Blood was dripping from my trousers. I am still under medical treatment. The wound has not healed. I did not go to the Civil Hospital for treatment.

To the Chairman:—I am a resident of Karim Pura, Peshawar city. My statement has been read over to me. It is correct it bears my thumb impression. I am still under the treatment of Doctor Khan Sahib. When I came here he gave me some medicine for rubbing over the body. (The witness produced it before the Committee.) Several people are under the treatment of Doctor Khan Sahib. The person who has accompanied me received two shots on his arm. Doctor Khan does not charge any fee from anybody. My father is alive. I, too, with the other people was going to the Kabuli Gate. There was hartal

in the city that day. I too observed hartal. People closed their shops thinking it to be their national duty, because the Congress leaders had been arrested. This was the main reason of the hartal. I saw the Congress leaders picketing the liquor shops. They were profusely garlanded. The English Regiment have behaved very cruelly at Peshawar.

(Note.—The witness showed his wound to the Committee.)

Q. How did you come here from Peshawar?

A. I have come with Fazal Mohamad to give evidence.

Q. Were you not afraid of leaving Peshawar?

A. Afraid of whom?

Q. Of the Government?

A. Who is afraid of the Government.

Q. Do you obey the Congress orders?

A. Yes, Sir, every body does it.

Q. Why do you do so?

A. It is our national duty.

Q. What is the work of the Congress? Do you understand it?

A. Yes, Sir, we want our own Government.

Thumb impression of

31-5-30 MOHAMMAD SALEEM

Read out to the witness who puts his thumb impression in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

37

The statement of Nanak Chand, son of Chhaju Ram age 30 years, occupation Mistri, resident Kucha Lahorian, Peshawar

On 23rd April when I was coming to my house in Kucha Lahorian from Mohalla Asia at about 12 noon after finishing my work, I saw 3 or 4 bodies being removed. I came to my house. After lunch at 1-30 p.m. I started for my work and when I reached near Chawk Dhaki Nal Bandi, I saw armoured car firing near Kabuli Gate in front of the Kissa Khani Bazar, I saw with my own eyes at least 30 or 35 dead bodies in Kissa Khani Bazar. There must have been more. The mouth of the armoured car was then turned from Bazar towards Gate Dhaki Nalbandi. I with 3 others climbed on the front plank of a shop. Afterwards to save ourselves we started towards Attawala Katra, but in the way two of us got bullet wounds and fell down. I also got a bullet wound in my hand and I also fell. One Balwant Singh also was hit by a bullet on his foot and fell.

The flour sellers dragged us in their shops and closed the doors. When I was standing on the plank I saw that after the firing the Kissa Khani Bazar was cleared, and the British soldiers fired a volley towards the Bazar of the tin-smiths. On the other side the armoured car was turned towards Dhaki. The British soldiers also fired upon persons hiding themselves in the drains under the planks. Many persons who were thus hiding themselves were wounded by bayonets. I also saw with my own eyes that anybody who attempted to see from the upper story by lifting the shutters was fired at by the British soldiers. Consequently all the shutters were closed by the people. The firing was recklessly going on, there was no distinction between the young and old, between man or woman. I was brought home at 4-30. Even after this time I heard the firing. I had myself treated by Dr. Ghosh. I did not go to civil hospital. I was told to give evidence before the Suleman Committee, but I replied that I had no faith in it: I would only appear before my national Committee. I have still a bullet mark close to the thumb of my right hand. On 4th May also there was great persecution on the part of the Government. All the roads were closed. No one could come or go without permits. I was standing in Andar Shaher near the Mosque when I saw Ram Saran, Photographer, arrested by the police.

Dr. Jawahar Singh on seeing Ram Saran shouted "Inquilab Zindabad". Upon this the 17th Poona Horse desperately charged the people and galloped their horses at them. Many people were injured. One cavalryman whipped Dr. Jawahar Singh with a hunter mercilessly and asked him if he would do it again.

Q. (Chairman) Were you wounded by a bullet?

A. Yes, I got bullet injury. Balwant of my Mohalla also has a bullet wound.

Q. Have you given a statement?

A. Yes. (At this stage the statement was read to the witness and he admitted its correctness and he signed it.)

Q. Where have you got the injury?

A. The witness showed the right hand. The thumb has marks of injury on both sides.

Note.—In the list of the injured the witness's name appears as No. 31 and Balwant Singh's as No. 32.

On that day I was going on my work after taking my food. The building on which I was working was in Asia Mohalla and I was going there secretly as there was a Hartal. I went there at 7-30 a.m. At 12 noon I came back for my food. At 1-30 after food when I was going back I had this bad luck. When at 12 I came to my house I did not come through Kissa Khani, because there were armoured cars, and a big crowd. The

people were in small numbers and I was on a cycle. At 1-30 I left the cycle at my house and was going to my work through Kissa Khani when I met with this mishap. I earn Rs. 3|- daily. I had nothing in my hands and so was the case with other people. No one had any arms.

31-5-30 (Sd.) NANAK CHAND

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

38

The statement of Sayyed Amir Badshah, son of Late Mir Badshah. President, Zamindars' Association, residence village Musa Zai, District Peshawar

On the night of 22nd and 23rd April 1930, I stayed in company with Sanobar Hussain at the house of Maulana Abdul Rahim in Gari Khana. On the morning of 23rd at about 3 a.m. a police constable knocked at our door and a disciple of the Maulana opened the door. He inquired about the Maulana. We all woke up, and Maulana went to the door himself. The policeman asked if he was Maulana Abdur Rahim to which the latter replied in the affirmative, and demanded to see a warrant against himself, if any. Thereupon the police constable called his officer Manmohan, Sub-Inspector of police, and showed him the warrant under Section 124-A, I. P. C., bearing the signature of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Metcalfe. The Maulana without the least hesitation accompanied the police officer and the armed guard. Sanobar Hussain and myself accompanied the Maulana up to a Lorry standing at a distance of about a hundred steps in a corner and bade farewell to the Maulana. Sanobar Hussain and I returned to Maulana Sahib's house and rested there. At about six-thirty in the morning Hakim Abdul Saleem, President Congress Committee, Hazara Malik Mohammad Alam, editor of the "Shabab" turned up. They were informed of the Maulana's arrest. As they required the services of a lawyer for prosecution of the case, all of us left Maulana's house at about 9 a.m.

On reaching the Congress office, near the Clock Tower we came to know that the rest of the gentlemen, viz., Lal Badshah, Maulana Khan Mir, Ali Gul, Paira Khan, and Rahim Bux Ghaznavi, had also been taken under arrest. We also reached there. The whole of the city observed Hartal on the arrest of the leaders, and the people flocked in large numbers to the Congress office to have the last glimpse of their leaders. At about 10 o'clock two lorries full of armed police stopped on the road under the Congress office. The police Sub-Inspector

went up to the Congress office with a warrant of arrest for two young men. On this the two gentlemen, Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux Barqi, were seated in the lorry, profusely garlanded. They addressed the people to remain peaceful. The lorry got punctured near the Memorial at a distance of about three hundred steps from the Congress office. Owing to great rush of the crowds it was difficult to walk, whereupon both the arrested leaders offered to walk to any place where the police officer wished to take them and they suggested that the lorries may be taken out of the city and they might walk to the police station as owing to Hartal the crowd had gathered in large numbers. The Sub-Inspector agreed and the permission was given. Both the gentlemen gladly marched to the Kabuli Gate at the head of a procession and surrendered themselves. We then returned to the Congress office.

Between 11 and 12 noon four dead bodies were brought on the Charpoy below the Congress office. On enquiry it was found that they had been crushed under an armoured car and that several other persons were also injured. Three or four wounded were also seen in the tongas, who were sent to the hospital from the Congress office. We heard that firing had taken place.

Sanobar Hussain, myself, Hakim Abdul Saleem, Malik Mohammad Alam and Mohammad Yunus left the Congress office for Kissa Khani Bazar. On inquiry the general reply was that the armoured cars had been recklessly driven at a speed in the Kabuli Gate into the crowd resulting in the death of several and injuries to many and that many had been shot dead and injured. All of us went to Kissa Khani Bazar. A horse was lying dead having been hit by a bullet. Three armoured cars were standing in a row in the Kissa Khani and one of them was on fire in front of the Kabuli Gate police station. When we reached Kissa Khani the firing had ceased and some persons were standing there and trying to remove the dead and the wounded, meanwhile, a fire engine was brought there with a view to extinguish the fire in the armoured car, and started its work. The people were collected there in large numbers. In the meantime some twenty to twenty-four armed British saldiers came and stood in front of the armoured cars facing the people, and the same number of armed Gharwalis stood behind the said British soldiers. The mounted police also arrived. The people were dismayed and were trying to remove the dead and the wounded, when an officer ordered a bayonet charge against them. To save themselves, the people tried to remove the dead and the wounded behind the cover of wooden boxes that they had brought from the shops and used these boxes and wooden planks as a shield against the bayonet charge. They

continued raising national slogans despite this official violence which they bore peacefully and patiently. The Kissa Khani Bazar appeared a veritable field of slaughter. I, with my comrades, Mohammad Akram Khan and others fully witnessed the orgy of this wholesale slaughter from the upper storey of Abdul Rauf, Pleader. Everything was clear to our view. Every one sighted in the streets and bye-lanes of the Kissa Khani was indiscremately fired on and the soldiers moved on. Everyone who appeared in the balconies or roofs was shot at. Therefore we closed the doors of our upper flats as did the others and lay hiding inside. At every byelane were posted three or four soldiers for firing at the people. The firing continued from 1-15 to 4 p.m., and from 4 to 5 p.m. occasional firing was heard. The firing at the roofs and balconies was resorted to in order to secretly remove the dead bodies. A large number of dead bodies was taken in closed lorries and disposed of at some unknown place. I was peeping through a hole on hearing the noise of the lorries and I saw the dead bodies being packed in the lorries. I had seen three such lorries. There are different rumours about their disposal. At 5 o'clock, Abdul Rauf, pleader, asked for permission from a British officer for us to get down from this house, which the officer granted with great reluctance. Sixty-four dead bodies were handed over to the relatives of the deceased after having been entered in a list. Two unclaimd dead bodies were lying on the charpoys below the Khilafat office, and eighty-five wounded had reached the Khilafat office till then. It is said that on the night of 24th April a large number of people returning from Rawalpindi after Bari Shah Latif Fair, by the train reaching Peshawar at night, were shot dead by the British soldiers and their dead bodies disposed of somewhere. And on 25th and 26th the troops wounded peaceful citizens with bayonets.

People were shut up in their houses for two whole days throughout. A large number of people had to starve for want of provisions. For this reason a large number of widows and orphans, the aged and the strangers, got no food in the city of Peshawar. The awakening in our Country, especially, the Hindu-Muslim unity, is most unwelcome and annoying to the authorities, otherwise there was no earthly reason for so heartless a massacre of the people. The authorities have no justification for their atrocities. The pretexts brought forward by them are absolutely false and unsustainable. Cognisant of my responsible position I can definitely assert that to connect our National movement with Haji of Turangzai, is the height of unmeaning absurdity. We are as brave and warlike as independent border tribes and know the use of arms and therefore we are in no way inferior to them in any respect. How can we regard any external agency as stronger than ourselves, or as instrumental in

our salvation? Had we desired the Government, we could have taken up arms and, challenged an open battle instead of calling some one from outside. But we don't regard an armed violent conflict as a means to our salvation. It is our conviction that we are starved and that we are crying for bread. It is no use committing suicide. We know the strength of the Government. The Indian taxpayer has provided it with such means of destruction that it can destroy our entire population in a day. Our fight is humane and on principles which the Government cannot fight. The morale of the Government has degenerated. Instead of feeling for the masses and trying to diagnose their afflictions and to know the causes of the widespread discontent in the country and the aspirations of the people, it has launched on a blind and desperate policy of violence. If we had not been the followers of non-violence, then retaliatory firing would have taken place somewhere on the frontier. Hundreds of us have been shot dead. Nowhere in the world has any Government massacred people and committed such unspeakable atrocities without there being counter violence of an equally serious magnitude. For instance we remind the Britishers of the Irish Revolution nearer home. We challenge the Government to prove its baseless allegations before a tribunal commanding the confidence of all concerned. If we had any connections with any agency, the condition of the Frontier to-day would have been different. The Government should feel grateful to Mahatma Gandhi whose movement has taught the irrepressible Pathan, whose natural passion since his boyhood is guns and bullets and who is brought up amidst warlike traditions, to bear on his body with patience and fortitude the bullets and all inhuman atrocities inflicted upon him. This is our firm conviction that this patience will secure India her freedom. We want to make it clear that the country is firm in its determination and no earthly power can shake this firm resolve unless the twenty-two lacs of the frontier people are blown up by guns. As the president of the Zamindars' Association I want to make it clear that the list of losses inflicted upon us during this movement is a very long one. The poor Zamindars are ruined owing to the excessive revenue and Abiana. Harvests failed for three consecutive years. And this, a new calamity, was the proverbial last straw. In this Peshawar tragedy fifty per cent of our people have embraced martyrdom whose list was prepared and handed over to the Congress Committee. And I learn that the papers were removed from the Congress office on 4th May 1930 and destroyed. Many of our villagers have been besieged and disarmed by the authorities, and people have been arrested. The office of th volunteers (Khudai-Khidmatgar) at Utmanzai has been burnt down. They were thrown from the top of the third storey and pierced by bayonets. At Parang about seven hundred volun-

teers while lying down were trampled under the horses hoofs. At Durgai the people were mercilessly belaboured. Houses were burnt at Takkar Village and the people were mowed down with machine guns. Horrible cruelties were committed but there has been no outburst of retaliation. How does the Government dare to declare to the world that the frontier people have revolted? This tyrannical regime is still in full swing. The military is working havoc and the whole of this Province is turned into a military camp.

Another important fact which needs mention is the fact that in Kissa Khani Bazar a number of disabled beggars who used to occupy the platforms are not traceable. And it is believed that they have been killed and their bodies disposed of.

To the Chairman:—I am the president of the Zamindars' Association, Peshawar. I have submitted my written statement which is correct.

My father died ten or twelve years ago. He held the title of Khan Sahib from the Government. In Exhibit F. I know the following persons who have been killed:—Safdar, son of Jamal, No. 44; Mian Deen, No. 51; Ghaffur Khan son of Badaar Khan, No. 59; Kheel, son of Fazal, resident Aim Hayian. I do not know the dead persons belonging to Peshawar.

Q. How much land do you own?

A. Worth 30 to 40 thousand rupees. I know Dr. Khan Sahib. I went to the Khilafat office on 23rd May 1930, Dr. Khan Sahib was there. I am told that Drs. Khan Sahib and Ghosh have rendered help to the wounded in bandaging, etc., Mr. Cobb is the City Magistrate these days. The hospital is situated at half a mile from the Khilafat office. It is known as Lady Reading Hospital. We sent many wounded persons from the Khilafat office for treatment to the Lady Reading Hispital. I have come to know that Mr. Cobb stopped the volunteers and Dr. Khan Sahib from proceeding to Lady Reading Hospital. It is said that the armoured cars entered the Kabuli Gate at an enormous speed. I do not know whether people cut off any telephone wires. When I returned from my village on the morning of 24th April 1930, the Khilafat Volunteers told me that the two unclaimed dead bodies that were left below the Khilafat office having been brought late in the night, had been taken away by the British soldiers.

Q. Do you know if any women were killed?

A. I have not heard of the death of any women. Two women are said to have been wounded.

Q. How did you come to know that sixty-four dead bodies had come to the Khilafat office?

A. The Khilafatists were preparing a list as the bodies came

in. The bodies were given to the relatives of the deceased. I saw the list at that time. This list was kept in the Khilafat office which was removed by the British soldiers on 4th May 1930, along with other Khilafat property. The British soldiers ransacked the Khilafat office. The Khilafatists had also prepared a list of the unclaimed bodies which contained a mention of thirty-five persons. Our village is at a distance of two miles and a half from Peshawar. I had returned to my village on the night of 23rd April 1930. Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code was applied on 24th April 1930 and it is still in force. I do not know if any dead body was brought from Lal Bandan Dher on April 24th 1930. On 24th April 1930, at about 10 a dead body was sent from the hospital to the Khilafat office by Pir Bux, Municipal Commissioner. People took the body in a procession.

Q. How could a procession be taken out when Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code was in force?

A. The procession was taken out in violation of Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code. On 24th April 1930 I again returned to my village. On the morning of 25th April 1930, when I came back from my house I saw marks of blood at two places in front of a blacksmith's shop near the Clock Tower. And I also saw blood on the road near Dhaki Dalgaran. This blood must be of persons whom the British soldiers had shot at night and whose dead bodies had been secretly disposed of.

To Dewan Daulat Rai:—The Zamindars' Association was started to protect the rights of the Zamindars. It has fifty members who are big Zamindars. The grievances for the removal whereof the Association was brought into being have increased day by day.

Q. Since when did your association and its sympathisers accept Mahatma Gandhi's principle of Non-violence?

A. Our Association came into existence three years ago and since its inception we have accepted this principle.

Q. How much revenue do you pay?

A. Rs. 100|-.

Q. Is it or is it not a fact that since the Independence Resolution was passed by the Congress, the movement of non-violence has markedly increased?

A. It has markedly increased.

Q. Does the Government help you in this?

A. No; the Government instead of helping tries to crush it. The movement gains in strength by repression. The Government tries to crush it because the movement tends to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

To the Chairman:—The unity increases in proportion to the repression exercised.

To Dewan Daulat Rai:—In Peshawar District Hindus and Muslims treat each other as brothers. In our part of the country all men and women wear Khaddar. This is due to Mahatma Gandhi's movement. I am wearing Khaddar and those who come from Peshawar are in Khaddar. Khaddar is economical and is very convenient and durable. The Government dislikes people who wear Khaddar and tries to suppress our efforts. The movement is very popular in our District, excepting among the toadies who are small in number and are decreasing in number every day. I know a Government Committee also is holding an enquiry. I did not appear before the Committee to give evidence as it had no popular representative and is entirely constituted of officials. Our Khilafat Committee has also submitted an application that Government should stop the enquiry, as the people have no representatives on the Committee and we cannot expect justice from it. On 25th night the people who were killed were from amongst those Peshawaris who had gone to Durga Shahian in Pindi District to a fair which takes place every year and is greatly frequented by people from Peshawar and who, on learning of the Peshawar happenings, were returning home the same day by the train reaching Peshawar at night.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Amir Badshah

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd) V. J. Patel

39

The statement of Ludan Mal, son of Bhai Rukha Singh, age 46, occupation shopkeeper, residence Rampura Bagoar, Peshawar City

On 5th May I was returning from Karimpura after having made some purchases. It was evening time. I saw that there were some twenty-four or twenty-five British soldiers. They were coming from the direction of the Clock Tower. On seeing these soldiers at a distance of some seven or eight steps I entered a bye-lane. On seeing me two or three soldiers pursued me and one of them hit me with a bayonet in my left buttock. I was seriously wounded. After receiving this wound I went into the house of a relative. I have been under the treatment of Dr. Peyare Lal. On 5th and 6th May British soldiers wounded several other persons.

To the Chairman:—I have submitted a statement which has been read to me. I admit it to be correct and I sign it.

Q. What was your fault?

A. No fault of mine. There are five or six persons of my

Mohalla, who were wounded in those days. Besides them other people were wounded. The number of the wounded exceeded 100. The names of the wounded who are of my Mohalla are as follows:—

1. Hari Chand, Tailor of Mohalla Rampura.

2. Amar Nath, Flour Seller of Mohalla Rampura.

3. Haro, Wood Seller.

4. A labourer, who works in a flour shop and whose name I forget, was drinking water from a water pipe when he was wounded by bayonet on both his buttocks by British soldiers.

5. Nathu Ram Bajaj was wounded on his head. I have seen many wounded persons whose names I do not know.

Q. What happened on 4th or 5th May that the people were wounded?

A. On 4th and 5th the military had started picketing the city and on 5th and 6th more people were wounded, whomsoever they came across they injured.

Q. Why were the people wounded?

A. To terrify the people to crush the movement. I am not a Congressman but am a sympathiser. The whole of Peshawar is in sympathy with the Congress movement. On 23-4-30, in my Mohalla, Karimpura, 30 to 35 persons were wounded, a list of whom is with Dr. Peyare Lal. I do not remember their names. The names which I remember I have stated.

Q. How far is your lane from the Kabuli Gate?

A. It may be about 2 furlongs. On 23rd April at about 11, I went to the Kabuli Gate. When I heard that several persons were run over by an armoured car, I went towards Kabuli Gate. I was standing on the Pukka Bridge when I saw that a corpse on a charpai was being brought from the side of Kabuli Gate Police station. When they came near me Indian sowars and a British officer also came from the direction of Gorkhatri. The people complained to that officer that an armoured car had run over their men for no fault. The British officer with the sowars went towards Kabuli Gate. People went towards Gorkhatri with the corpse and policemen followed them on foot. There were about 100 persons. I followed them towards the Kabuli Gate. A wounded person was lying on a charpai near the dispensary of Dr. Badri Nath. The people had asked Dr. Badri Nath to attend to the wounded person. He replied that he was about to die and therefore could not be treated and asked the people to take him home whereupon people carried him to a house in Shahwali Qatar Mohalla. It was learnt later, that people took him to that Mohalla by mistake. As a matter of fact he belonged to the Kashmiri Kanjars, I do not know his name. I then went towards Kabuli Gate. At the turning I saw a horse lying wounded and bleeding near a water-pump.

It was gasping. Near that horse some people met me who were carrying a wounded boy in their arms and were going towards the old hospital. I do not know his name. His father is known as Abdulla or Jumma. The Police sowars were going in a line on one side of the Bazar, so that if there was firing from the machine guns they may not be hit and be saved. I followed them. When I reached the bazar of Tinsmiths, I went towards the Kabuli Gate by going at the back of the shops.

On going further from the dispensary of Dr. Abdul Jabar I saw a man lying on a charpai seriously wounded. The bullet entered from one side of his throat and passed from the other side. He was covered with blood. A little further I saw a dead body on a charpai carried by Congressmen. Going a little further, I arrived just opposite the Thana by the road from the Town Hall. At that place I saw one Pathan's body lying in a pool of blood. The British troops and the Police were standing at the Thana. The Khilafat and Congress volunteers brought stretchers to remove the above-mentioned dead body and when they reached near it, the Englishman standing in the Thana waved his hand and asked them to get back. The Congress volunteers told him that they had come to remove the dead body. On this they were allowed to remove it. They took away the dead body. At the same place I saw one motor cycle lying between two armoured cars and just near the first armoured car one British soldier was lying dead with his face down. He was just near the first armoured car. After this I came back from that place. At 2 P. M. when I was sitting on Pakka Pul, I saw two wounded persons one on a charpai and the other on a stretcher carried by the people. I also followed them. They took them to the Khilafat office. One of them was conscious and he had a bullet wound on the foot. The other was unconscious. After that I came to my house. When I went to the Khilafat office I saw 5 or 7 dead bodies. Many dead bodies were removed before this by their relatives who had identified the dead. There are about 400 or 500 houses in Mohalla Karimpura.

Q. How many persons were killed and wounded?

A. The casualties were 300 to 400. I have also heard that many dead bodies were taken by British soldiers in lorries at about 5 or 6 P. M. to some unknown place and were disposed off. At that time military pickets were placed right out inside the streets in order that the people may not see the removal of dead bodies. The balconies were also fired upon, for the same object so that no one may observe from above and the shutters of the balconies may remain closed. I do not know the Deputy Commissioner. Saidullah Khan, the City Magistrate, was present in the Thana. I know him. There were also 3 or 4 English officers. The British soldiers were picketing all the outlets to Mohallas from Kissa Khani Bazar.

Q. Did you hear any firing on 24th April 1930?

A. I did not hear any firing. But on the morning of 25th April 1930, at Puka Pul in front and on both sides of the shops of Iron Merchants I saw blood lying in great quantity and the same scene was witnessed in Chauk Dalgaran. The people were saying that many persons including strangers were killed by British soldiers and their dead bodies secretly disposed off by them. Next morning there was neither Military nor Police in the city.

Q. To Dewan Daulat Rai:—Pakka Bridge is near the place where I stated that I saw blood. I saw bullet marks in Kissa Khani Bazar at numerous places both in shops and balconies. Even now many such marks can be seen. Rampura is a street where I live and it is a portion of Karimpura.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Ludan Mal

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

40

The statement of Mohammad Akram Khan, son of Habib Khan, age 35, occupation Zamindari, member Anjuman Zamindaran, residence Village Deh Bahadur, District Peshawar

On 23-4-30 I came to Peshawar on hearing of the arrest of the leaders. When I reached the Kabuli Gate, I heard that all leaders were arrested. I saw that Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Alla Baksh Barqi were standing outside the gate of the Thana of Kabuli Gate to surrender themselves to the police. The people in large numbers were standing peacefully on the road and certain people were sitting on the platform. On arrival I saw the Thana gate open and the above mentioned leaders being admitted. After 10 or 15 minutes, an armoured car came very fast and ran over many people. On hearing the crowd shouting and the injured crying the armoured car began to reverse. A motor cycle was coming at great speed following the above-mentioned car. It collided with the armoured car, and the rider fell down. The people were removing the dead bodies.

The cries of the injured made the people restless to such an extent that some of them were weeping. Many people were engaged in removing the dead bodies. Mr. Metcalfe, the Deputy Commissioner, came down from the armoured car and went straight to the Thana in a very perturbed state of mind. He fell down on the stairs of the Thana and remained lying for a minute, afterwards he stood up and went inside. After some time he came outside the Thana, and spoke something in English and then the armoured car fired the volley. When for the second time the armoured car began firing, it began to burn. The rider of the motor cycle was seen beneath this armoured car. I saw that one Englishman was attempting to

get him out, but he did not succeed. He was burnt on account of the burning of the armoured car. I also saw that brickbats were thrown from top of the Kabuli Gate and at that time the firing ceased. The other three armoured cars were standing one behind the other in Kissa Khani Bazar. After some time the British soldiers with the Inspector-General of Police came and stood in front of the first armoured car just where the people were removing the dead and the injured. The English officer ordered the British soldiers to charge the people with bayonets. The people worked behind the shelter of wooden boxes and planks removed the injured and the dead while being thus charged. The same officer ordered firing and consequently many people were killed. I ran towards Abdul Raoof, Pleader's Balcony, Sayad Amir Badshah and Sanobar Hussain accompanied me and we went up the balcony and saw the general slaughter. The British soldiers proceeded to fire on the balconies and the streets. We closed the doors, but witnessed all this scene through a hole. At about 2-30 P.M., the noise of the lorries was heard. From a hole, we saw the closed lorries and, the British soldiers at different places who were collecting the dead bodies and were placing them in the lorries. After this I went on the 3rd storey, and when I just had a peep, I saw that the road was being flooded with water by fire brigade and blood was being washed away. While I was observing this, a bullet passed just above my head and I came down. The firing was going on till 4 P. M. Between 4 and 5, the firing went on at intervals. After 5, Abdul Raoof asked the English officer for permission to come down. The permission was obtained with great difficulty. Going through streets and passing from Kohati Gate I went to village Deh Bahadur. The neighbouring village was alarmed. In the village we were informed that the villagers wanted to go to Peshawar to enquire about these events. Before this I heard that the Government had got the rumour afloat that the villagers were going to loot the city. We considered all these matters, and came to the conclusion that though the villagers intended to go to the city out of sympathy, yet the city people would think that they were there to loot them and they would be displeased and so under the circumstances it would not be advisable to go to the city. On the other hand, the Government would shoot them and would pretend that the villagers were coming to loot the city, and the Government had saved the city. Taking into consideration all these things we stopped the people from going to the city. The story of the atrocities perpetrated by the Government is a long one. If this Committee could have gone to Peshawar, it would have discovered the whole truth.

To the Chairman:—I have given a written statement. The statement is correct. I have signed it. There are some 1,000 houses in my village. Hindus are our brethren. There are some twenty houses of the Hindus in my village. We have

very good relations with them. We protect and help them at the time of difficulty. We sacrificed four lives in 1919 while protecting the Hindus. My land is 100 Jaribs. Its value, these days, is Rs. 1,000 per Jarib. I pay revenue of Rs. 4|8 per Jarib. I own 20 houses. I run a National School with private subscriptions.

Q. Is there any repression in your village?

A. Yes, a good deal. The natural water flowing near us has been diverted for the use of the cantonment. Since 1864 the quantity of water has been gradually decreased. Now we do not get sufficient water even for drinking purposes during June and July. As you are conducting an enquiry, I have come to give my statement.

Q. Why did you go to Peshawar on 23rd April?

A. I learnt at my village that our President and Secretary had been arrested. I went to Peshawar to see them. Sayad Amir Badshah who has just given his statement, is our president. I am a member of the Zamindars' Association. On reaching Peshawar I learnt that neither of them had been arrested. The Secretary was arrested on 5-5-30.

Q. Did any one throw stones and brickbats on 23rd April?

A. I did not see any stone thrown from the crowd. I saw small stones coming from the direction of the police station.

Q. Why did the Thanawallas throw stones when they had guns?

A. These were thrown to provoke and to excite the people. We saw this stone throwing after the armoured cars had run over the members of the public.

Q. They had guns. Why did they pelt stones?

A. We had patiently borne the atrocities inflicted on us by crushing our people under wheels and stones were thrown so the people might be excited to retaliate and thus provide an excuse for the authorities to justify their atrocious actions.

Q. Did Mr. Metcalfe fall down due to any such stone hitting him?

A. Certainly not, as the stones that were coming from above were very small and could not cause any injury resulting in his fall. He fell down due to his nervousness.

Q. Can you say that he was not hit by a stone?

A. Mr. Metcalfe fell outside the gate and the stones coming from above were falling in the bazar. Hence no stone could hit Mr. Metcalfe. He could only be hit from the direction of the

bazar. Mr. Metcalfe while entering the Thana fell on the steps owing to nervousness, and a side of his face struck the edge of the step and he became senseless for a minute or two. On recovering, he got up and went in. He again came out and gave some orders in English, on which the troops commenced firing.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Mohmad Akram

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

41

The statement of Abdul Latif, son of Mian Miran Aziz Ullah, age 24, occupation Leather Merchant, Residence Kohat

Partly on account of the arrests of the Congress Leaders and partly owing to the cruel policy of the State, such a censorship of things arose that the real facts were not known to the public and even the Central Committee was not informed. The oppression that was practised on the residents of Kohat was unique in the history of maladministration. I have the honour to submit to you in brief the summary of those incidents and I fervently hope that the incidents of Kohat, coupled with those of Peshawar, be put before the people at large, in order to show up the maltreatment by this "civilized" Government.

Beginning of Cruelty

On the morning of 11th and 12th May 1930, military soldiers were posted everywhere. All the Mohallas were blocked by the police and the Frontier Border Police. All the gates of the city of Kohat were blocked and most of the places were occupied by Machine Guns and Lewis Guns, a few houses having been vacated the soldiers were appointed as guards with telephone and other suitable arrangements. At 3 o'clock the arrests of the Congress Leaders and volunteers began which lasted till 7. In the morning of 12th May, leaders were put in the Fort and the volunteers were taken away to the city Police Cantonment Station. The shops remained closed for the whole day. Any man who happened to come out of his house was beaten with lathis. All the volunteers present in the Congress office were beaten severely. Consequently some ten volunteers were admitted into Hospital till the evening. Out of these two were seriously wounded. This day was the third day of the festival of Musalmans and the Musalmans had to perform their religious ceremony of sacrifice (Kurbani) but the shops and the lanes were closed and therefore they were not able to perform the prescribed religious ceremony.

Next Day

On the next day i.e. 13th May 1930, the shops remained closed as usual and the soldiers were instructed to keep a keen watch, and all the leaders having been sentenced were sent to Dera Ismail Khan and after that transferred to Bannu Jail. They have been placed in C Class, in spite of their being members of well-to-do families with a good reputation. The volunteers were sent to jail, the prosecution having obtained the remand for 15 days.

Third Day

On 14th May, at 12 a.m., the gates and shops were opened and the guards were removed and on 15th also the shops and gates remained open.

Revival of Tyranny

On 16th re-appeared the same scene of cruelty, and very cruel soldiers with strict instructions were posted. Special cruelties were perpetrated on the people residing in Mohalla Mian Khel and within the same category fell the following Mohallas and streets, namely Kochah Hari Singh, Deva Singh, Kochah Khazanchian and Fateh Khan Khel. The cause for this tyranny is the existence of the Congress workers in that Mohalla and the Government wanted to efface their existence. On this day also some of the Congress workers were sent to jail, including Maulvi Ahmad Gul, aged seventy. On this day the instruments of the so-called just Government performed wondrous deeds of cruelty. They did not content themselves with this cruelty, but also closed the water pipes in order to harass the public. Consequently the public had to face great difficulties and their cattle, owing to want of water, began to die in closed houses. There was no arrangement for their water or food either. According to my information many cows and buffaloes died.

Unlawful and Improper Show of Power

In the evening the Deputy Commissioner sent for the influential citizens and threatened them. It was demanded that they should present written documents and guarantees that there were no Congressmen in their Mohalla, nor would there be any in future. If they refused to write that, they would have to undergo all sorts of hardships. None would be allowed to go out and their cattle would die within the four walls of the houses owing to want of water. Some of the Mohalladars were frightened and submitted the required documents but the residents of Mian Khel refused to guarantee and told the Deputy Commissioner that they could never take the responsibility of that sort and that he was at liberty to arrest any Congressman whom he found. The same conditions prevailed on 17th and 18th May.

Obduracy of the Government

The bazars being closed for full three days, the provisions ran short. The poor wage earners and labourers who live on daily wages began to starve. The cattle were dying of starvation. Any man who went out of his house never returned safe, but was taken to the hospital wounded. The officers insisted on this policy of theirs and demanded an apology before the shops and gates were allowed to be opened. They also demanded that the public should guarantee that there was no Congressman in their respective Mohallas, or else that state of affairs would continue for six months. On 19th the same serious conditions prevailed.

Tyranny Carried to the Extreme

On 19th there happened an extraordinary event, which obviously showed that there was NO LAW AND ORDER, and if there was any, that was not meant for the Frontier Province. Though the case of the Congressmen was to come up on 29th, General Sahib reached there and ordered them either to beg pardon for having raised the cry of "Long Live Revolution," or be lashed or be prepared to undergo six months imprisonment. All the volunteers showed their willingness to undergo the imprisonment, but they were lashed. The number of those who were lashed was about 15 or 20. Most of those volunteers were weak and feeble and owing to that severe treatment, they requested that they should be pardoned.

Treachery

But later on a dirty trick was played upon them, the nature of which was this. The relatives and friends of these volunteers, who raised shouts and subsequently begged pardon, were informed that their arrested relations had asked for pardon and that they wanted to be released and that they should tender bails to take them away. The relations of those volunteers believed it and tendered bails. After two days the pardoned volunteers were let off with this pretext that they had repented and had promised not to take part in the Congress movement and that they had begged pardon for their former conduct although they all deny this.

The Danger of the Spread of Infection

It is said that the Civil Surgeon felt the apprehension of outbreak of disease because of the gate and bazars having been kept closed for four days. And he summoned the Chief Medical Officer for the inspection of the state of affairs. When he visited the city he found the conditions really fraught with danger. Heaps of animal dung had been collected in every house. The gate of the rampart having been shut, the dirt and filth of the city was lying in every house unremoved. Accordingly on his advice the

bazars etc. had to be opened and the military guard was withdrawn, otherwise the Deputy Commissioner did not wish it.

Congress Picketing on Liqor Shops

When the bazar was opened on the 20th, it was discovered that the Congress volunteers were picketing the liquor shops regularly. At about 10 o'clock a policeman, who was expecting a Sub-Inspectorship, assaulted one volunteer named Latif with a lathi four inches thick. He beat him so mercilessly that his body was besmeared with blood and an arm was broken. He fell down unconscious. After this he was dragged as he was unable to walk. This volunteer was so strong and healthy that had he not been taught to observe non-violence, he could have consigned four such policemen to perdition. But he bore all this trouble with great patience and silence.

Rumours

As long as the streets remained closed I heard different sorts of news which admit of no doubt. For example, the Superintendent of Police complained to the Sub-Inspectors that the attitude of the police towards the public was sympathetic and that this was the reason for his bad name. It is said that all this beating was given at his instigation. May God give him his deserts!

Matters Worth Enquiring

Will you kindly ask for explanations from the Frontier Government on the following:—

(1) Why and for inviting which invader was the Congress Committee of Kohat declared an unlawful body?

(2) Why where the Congress leaders who are respectable men of position put in the C class which is generally given to those guilty of moral turpitude?

(3) Why were the volunteers, who were to come up for trial in ten days, asked to beg pardon and why were they flogged?

(4) When they had been flogged, why were they asked to tender bail and ask for pardon? Why were they not let off?

(5) Those who apologised for raising cries, why was their apology accepted on all charges?

(6) Why was the city kept closed for five or six days? Why was the water supply cut off from Mian Khel street?

(7) Under what law were the volunteers beaten?

To the Chairman:—I have given a written statement. This is my statement.

Q. What is your property worth?

A. Some twenty-five thousand rupees or twenty-six thousand.

Previous to Mahatma Gandhi's movement of non-violence people were prone to bloodshed. Now, due to the Mahatmaji's movement, murders have decreased. Some hundred people were arrested in Kohat and have been inprisoned. Two or three picketing volunteers were belaboured. The military was in possession of the city for five or six days. Any one who came out of his house was beaten by the military. I did not recognize the beaten. I saw 15 men being beaten by the military. Twenty volunteers were flogged and jailed. Now there is quiet. Picketing has been stopped, because the picketing volunteers are beaten. I pay Rs. 200|- as income tax. The water supply was cut off for 3 days. We get water through pipes. The people in these three days took water from wells. Those who have no wells were supplied water from other houses. The Civil Surgeon is a Mohamedan. The Civil Surgeon told the District Magistrate that there was apprehension of the outbreak of pestilence. Therefore the bazars were opened. The following Congressmen of respectable position were arrested and they were put in C class.

(1) Pir Shah, President Congress Committee, Kohat, owns property worth Rs. 4,00,000 or Rs. 5,00,000.

(2) Mian Khair Mohammed owns property worth Rs. 1,50,000.

(3) Mian Ghulam Mohammed owns property worth Rs. 15,000.

(4) Sardar Gopal Singh owns property worth Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000.

It is the same Kohat where communal riots had occurred in 1924 and hundreds were done to death and a large portion of the town was set ablaze. Due to this non-violent movement there is perfect solidarity between Hindus and Muslims now.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Abdul Latif

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

42 & 43

The Statements of Mohammed Faiz Ulla Abbasi and Maksud Jan, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Bannu

The civil disobedience on the principle of non-violence was started on 23rd April 1930. The picketing on liquor shops continued until 14th May 1930, without any hindrance from Government side. On 11th May 1930 the Frontier Government declared the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha as unlawful assemblies. On 14th May 1930, the Government started the atro-

cities in Bannu, which are still perpetrated in Bannu District. The people are sticking to the principle of non-violence and have welcomed the violence on the side of the Government. The facts which we have seen with our own eyes are stated below.

(1) The city on 14th April 1930 was under military and police control. In the first raid the police occupied the Congress office and took away the uniforms of volunteers, durries, National Flag, tables and chairs, the photos of All India Leaders and other things; collected them at one place and burnt them. The papers and registers were packed in a guny bag and were taken possession of by the Police. In the above act there were some loyalists who were helping the police.

(2) The members of the Congress War Council and Naujawan Bharat Sabha who were on the spot were arrested. About 40 arrests were made by the evening of 14th May 1930. Out of them there were about 20 leaders, who were sent to jail, and the others who were volunteers were realeased at 11 p.m., after intimidating them and giving them a good thrashing. The volunteers did not care for these empty threats and continued the picketing of liquor shops. On that day the leaders and volunteers were severely beaten and the Gandhi caps were snatched away by the police and were burnt in Gandhi Chowk.

(3) On the morning of 15th May 1930 a party came from the villages to picket the liquor shops. On that day also the Government carried on extreme repression. The volunteers picketing the shops were beaten mercilessly, their khaddar uniforms were torn and they were made stark naked and were dragged in that state. After taking them in this state, 30 or 40 yards, they left them. But the proud Afghans sticking to the principle of non-violence picketed the shops in the naked state. When the volunteers belonging to villages came to know of this, they arranged 3 Jathas consisting of stark naked volunteers and gave notice to the Government that if they made the khaddar clad volunteers naked, they would come in naked state to take their place. By this notice they wanted to impress upon the authorities that they could not excite the public to violence. This challenge made the Government nervous. This was the first victory of the Congress.

(4) One Sikh Congress worker, without any provocation, was beaten so mercilessly on 15th May 1930, that news of his death spread in the city and there was complete Hartal. The Hartal continued for 6 days. The Hartal was complete, and the Motors, Busses and Tongas also ceased plying. The said gentleman remained in a precarious state for some days and then recovered. He has come here to give evidence. In spite of the threat, the merchants affected by this merciless beating also closed their shops for 6 days. This was the second victory

of the Congress.

(5) In the city, the 'Danda Police' and Border Militia were patrolling the city till 11 p.m. and were committing atrocities. The gates and rampart were guarded by the Military and no one was allowed to go in or come out without the permit issued by the Deputy Commissioner. Even fodder was not available in the city and the animals were in a very miserable condition. Malik Akbar Ali Khan, an influential Rais of Bannu District, who was arrested on 15th May 1930, sent a message to his village, which is near the city to send Shaftal cultivated in 60 Kanals of his land at once. The villagers after cutting the Shaftal threw it from over the rampart. The citizens are very much thankful to Malik Sahib for this kindness. This sort of repression continued till the morning of 20th May 1930. On 20th May, 1930 the Gates opened and the Hartal came to an end. This was the third defeat of the Government.

(6) The police is responsible for the above-mentioned atrocities, because the Inspector-General of Police and the District Magistrate of Bannu were present there giving orders to do such acts.

(7) Inspite of the fact that Seditious Meetings Act is enforced, peaceful public meetings are being held in the whole district. The Government is devising plans to excite the villagers, but it has failed upto this time. This is the fourth defeat of the Government.

(8) Upto the evening of 29th May 1930, 63 arrests were made. The list of their names is attached herewith. Daily 5 or 6 arrests are made. At present the selected Raises, 'Alims' of the District, are arrested, none of the volunteers is arrested. There are thousands of volunteers in the District. If arrests go on at this rate, they will reach hundreds.

(9) According to the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, the whole district has done the social boycott of the authorities. The propaganda of Khaddar and Spinning Wheel is intense. Congress Committees are being formed in different Ilaqas in the District. The Congress creed is known to each and every boy.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Mohamad Faizulla Abbasi

(Sd.) Maksood Jan, B.A., LL.B.,

Pleader, Bannu

Read out to the witness and signed by him and Mohammed Faizulla Abbasi who is also present before the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

List of Persons Arrested

1. Sardar Ram Singh, B.A., imprisoned for 3 years, under

Section 124.

2. Hakim Abdul Rahim, under Section 40.

3. L. Som Dev, under Section 40.

4. Khan Habib Ullah Khan, Pleader, under Section 124.

5. Sheikh Sahib Haji Haqnawaz Khan, Dictator No. 1.

6. Khan Sahib Makrab Khan.

7. Mohammed Salim Khan, Commander.

8. Maulvi Gul Khoodadad, Secretary.

9. Mohammed Aslam Khan, Joint Secretary.

10. Khan Akbar Ali Khan Malik and Rais, 2nd Commander one year S. I. under Section 107.

11. Azad Khan, 2nd Dictator.

12. Haji Abdul Rahman, President.

13. Haji Amir Mukhtar, General.

14. Haji Sher Ali Khan.

15. Haji Zaman Khan, Commander Kaki.

16. Nur Khan.

17. Shaikh Ghulam Sarwar Mazoon.

18. Mohammed Ghulam Khan, Captain.

19. Shaikh Bahadur Nawab Khan, Captain.

20. Mohammed Yakub Khan, Lieutenant.

21. Vishva Mitter.

22. Lieut. Saadat Khan.

23. Shamlal Jathedar.

24. Chamanlal.

25. Keval Ram Pehlwan.

26. Lachhman Dass.

27. Das Ram.

28. Vishwa Dass.

29. Lieut. Chaman Lal, imprisoned for 6 months, under Section 177.

30. L. Thakur Dass, Vice-President.

31. Master Keval Ram.

32. Mangal Sen, Cashier.

33. Shahbaz Khan, 2nd Secretary, imprisoned for 6 months.

34. Abdul Samad Captain, Student's Union.

35. Maulvi Ghulam Sarwar.

36. Khan Malang.

37. Hukamzad.
38. Sultan Jan Marwat.
39. Sikandar Vazir Mohammed Khel.
40. Mohammed Gul.
41. Ghulam Khan.
42. Khuti.
43. Painda Mir.
44. Ida Mir.
45. Sada Gul.
46. Nimak Khan Wazir Mohammed Khel.
47. Izab Khan Wazir Mohammed Khel.
48. Umar Gul Wazir Mohammed Khel.
49. Magrab Khan Sukhri.
50. Shahdalraz Khan, son of Akbar Ali.
51. Mir Sahib Khan.
52. Shah Qalzam Khan.
53. Sardar Khan Surani.
54. Wazir Azam Khan Surani.
56. Magrab Khan.
57. Dost Mohammed Khan.
58. Khan Badshah.
59. Maulvi Zarmain Khan Wazir Sardifel.
60. Malik Galoom Khan Wazir Baqa Khel.
61. Malik Godi.
62. Shahzada Khan Doad Shah.
63. Maulvi Amir Alim.

Examination of Maksud Jan

My name is Maksud Jan. I am a Pleader of Bannu. This is my statement which is correct and has been signed by me. I am practising since one year. There are 26 lawyers, out of them one or two are toadies, the others are nationalists. All the lawyers wear Khaddar. The lawyers have only passed resolutions and have not done any practical work. The Hindu population is preponderating in the city. They are 20,000 and the Mohammedans are 8,000. There is Hindu-Mohammedan unity in the District. There is one District Congress Committee in Bannu and there are small Committees in the District. All have been declared unlawful.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Maqsood Jan, B.A., LL.B.,
Vakil, Bannu

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Examination of Mohammed Faizulla Abbasi

To the Chairman:—My name is Mohammed Faizulla Abbasi. I am a graduate. My father's name is Haji Mohammed Bakhsh. I have signed below the statement given by Maqsood Jan. My statement is the same. I am a Cloth Merchant in Bannu. I deal in Swadeshi cloth. I have boycotted English cloth. Anybody in the District who buys foreign cloth is fined Rs. 5.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Mohammed Faizulla Abbasi

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

44

The Statement of Dharam Singh, Son of Narain Das, Age 23, Occupation Tailor, Residence Bannu

That on 15th May 1930, at about 9 a.m., the police beat me, with regulation lathis so very mercilessly that I became senseless, on the mere ground that I had asked them to behave a little leniently. I received the injuries on my head and body. A rumour went round the town that I had died. Immediately there was a Hartal, which went on for six days. I was unconscious for two or three days and gradually I began to get better. I feel pain in my head even now. When I applied for a medical certificate, it was refused. In Bannu, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims live in perfect unity. The Government has got nervous over this and is trying to break this unity and therefore they have come down to all sorts of repression. In Bannu city the population of Hindus and Sikhs is larger. Their relations with the villagers is a matter for envy. Propaganda for khaddar is going on vigorously. Every one is pledged to non-violence. The Government has shown wonders in repression but the people are ready to make all sorts of sacrifices.

To the Chairman:—I remained in Hospital for 6 days. I have pain in the head now. A bone of a finger of my left hand was fractured. The doctor did not give me a certificate. The bazar doctors do not give a certificate, as they say their certificate would not be relied upon.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Dharam Singh

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

45

Statement of Pehlwan Faqir Mohammed, son of Mian Mohammed Awan, age 25 years, occupation Shoe seller, residence Mohalla Mullan Majid, Peshawar

On the morning of 23rd April 1930, I came to know that at night the leaders of the Congress except two were arrested. The people were standing beneath the Congress office. I also joined. Just then 2 lorries loaded with police came there and the Sub-Inspector showed warrants against the two leaders. Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Bakhsh Barqi gladly handed over themselves to the police. The police got them in the lorry and proceeded. The lorry, in which the leaders were sitting, got punctured near 'Chowk Yadgar,' and the police got them down. The police, the leaders and the people proceeded toward Kabuli Gate Thana. The people were peaceful. When the people reached there, the Thana gates were closed, after some time the doors opened and the leaders were taken inside. The people were dispersing when the armoured cars came at great speed without giving any warning, ran over the people, killing and injuring several persons. On seeing the dead and the injured the people got excited and threw brickbats on the armoured car. The armoured car began shooting, and several people were killed and injured. I returned, when I reached the Pukka Pul. I saw behind me people bringing the dead bodies on charpais. At this I thought it advisable to go home and I did so. At my house I heard the firing till 4 p.m.

When I was standing opposite the Thana I saw an Englishman on horseback. After seeing the crowd he went back. After a short time the armoured car came. I recognized Majid, son of Bholu, out of the dead.

To the Chairman:—Out of the martyrs I know Majid, son of Bholu, whose number is 24 in Ex. F. About 10 persons were crushed under the armoured car. I think they were ten or twelve. Out of them 5 or 6 died and 5 or 6 were injured. When some persons were throwing brickbats, the people were asking them not to do so. I did not recognize the Deputy Commissioner. I did not see any Englishman coming out of the armoured car as there was a great crowd.

Q. Diwan Daulat Rai:—You have said that there was a great crowd, and you were one of them; the leaders went in the Thana; what did the leaders say to the people?

A. They asked the people to remain non-violent and disperse peacefully, that they should get their names enlisted in the Congress and become volunteers and continue picketing and the work of the Congress peacefully. The people were shouting

National slogans. At the time the people were removing the dead, they were shouting National cries. One English officer came on horse-back and went after hearing National slogans. The people were not afraid of him and continued shouting National cries. The English officer went in great anger. The Sub-Inspector who had taken the leaders in the lorry was present at that time. When the people tried to remove the dead and the injured, who were crushed, the firing began from the armoured car. When the leaders went in the Thana, they asked the people to disperse peacefully; and the people began to disperse. Some people began to come there from the city. The people would have gone peacefully as they used to go always after public meetings and there was no necessity for the armoured car.

Q. When the Englishman went back after hearing the National cries, can you tell after how many minutes the armoured cars came?

A. After 15 or 20 minutes.

Thumb impression of

31-5-30 FAQIR MOHAMMED

Read out to the witness who has put his thumb impression in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

46

The statement of Abdul Rahman, son of Mohammad Ishaq, Kashmiri by caste, Business Timber Merchant, Aged 22 years, Residence Timber Market, Peshawar City

That on the morning of 23rd April, when I got out of my house, I learnt, that arrests had taken place during the previous night. On hearing this, I reached the Congress Office. There I learnt that there had been nine arrests and two had yet to be made. After a little while Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Bakhsh Barqi came into the Congress Office, who said that warrants against them were also issued, as the police had gone to their houses to arrest them. After that our Captain, Muhammad Usman, ordered me to take 10 volunteers to picket the liquor shops, and as I got down from the office with volunteers, I started towards the liquor shop in Karim Pura Bazaar. On the way, a crowd collected and followed us. However after posting 2 volunteers I came back to the Bazar Baterbazan and posted 2 volunteers on the liquor shop in the Dabgari. After having finished this work I kept on patrolling the liquor shops. When I reached the Kissa Khani Bazar, Ghulam Rabbani, and Allah Bakhsh Barqi were going towards the Thana. The crowd was raising shouts in an absolutely peaceful manner and when it reached the Thana the door of the Thana was shut. The two leaders knocked at

the door, but nobody opened it. A European Officer on horse-back came there and quickly went back. After a while armoured cars came very quickly without any warning and they did not slacken their speed on seeing the crowd, as a result of which many people were wounded and died. I saw the wounded gasping and from there I came running to Khilafat Committee office and ordered them to take charpais and bring the corpses. After a little while, volunteers brought the wounded and the dead. I was present then. Dr. Khan Sahib came there to dress their wounds and the water with which the wounds were washed was with me; and in my presence, the wounds were dressed. At about 2 p.m., firing was heard again. At that time I was sitting below the Khilafat Committee office. The volunteers took the dolis and after a little while, they began bringing the dead and the wounded and till 6 p.m. they went on bringing the dead and the wounded.

To the Chairman:—More than 30 dead bodies were brought to the Khilafat office. I did not count them. I remained in the Khilafat office till 6 p.m. When I was in the Khilafat office, I heard that the British soldiers had besieged the Congress office. I therefore went there. M. Abdul Hakim is the President of the Khilafat Committee. He was there that day. Ghulam Rabbani was the Secretary. The Secretary has been arrested. There was Hartal on that day. There was complete Hartal on account of the arrest of the leaders. Therefore people were going about. Picketing had to begin at 9 a.m. A large crowd had collected near the Congress office. I went towards the Kabuli Gate at about 10-30 a.m. At that time, leaders were outside. A little before the arrival of armoured cars, they had gone inside the Thana. At the time of entering the Thana the leaders asked the people to carry on the work in a peaceful manner and to go home quietly, continue picketing and enrol themselves in the Congress. A European on horse-back came, the crowd was raising the shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad." On seeing him, they shouted more vigorously. This is generally the case. On hearing the shouts, the Englishman on horse-back gallopped back. After about 15 or 20 minutes three armoured cars came. When I saw the people were crushed, I immediately went to the Khilafat office to give information. Then I came back to the Kabuli Gate. Then I was busy with Dr. Khan Sahib in dressing the wounds of the injured. Dr. Khan Sahib had come over to the Khilafat office.

Q. Do you know anybody from the dead persons?

A. I know the following:—In Ex. F Illahi Bux No. 5. No. 66 Dawa Khan of Dhaki Nal Bandi, was also known to me. I knew Daswandi Ram No. 11.

31-5-30 (Sd.) ABDUL RAHMAN

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of

the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

47

The statement of Lala Jwala Dass, son of Lala Amir Chand, caste Dhawan, Age 26, Occupation Iron Merchant, Residence Peshawar

I beg to state that on 22nd April 1930, it was proclaimed that liquor shops would be picketed with effect from 23rd April. I learnt on the morning of 23rd April, that many leaders had been arrested and that was the reason for the hartal in the bazars. When I was standing near the Kotwali, I saw that two Congress leaders were taken towards Kabuli Gate Thana, they were followed by a big crowd. I also joined the crowd. When the leaders and the crowd reached the Kabuli Gate, the leaders thanked the crowd and admonished them to continue the Congress work by non-violent means. After a short while the wicket gate of the Thana opened and the leaders entered the Thana and the people began to disperse. They were yet dispersing when three armoured cars arrived from the direction of the Kabuli Gate. The first armoured car rushed upon the people without sounding the horn. Thus many a man was crushed. I witnessed six persons thus crushed. The people began to pick up the dead and the wounded persons undearneath the cars; people were excited and were shouting National slogans. After this I came to a shop which was closed and stood on the pucca bridge. I was relating these facts to the people when the dead bodies began arriving. On 4th May 1930, I saw many Congress volunteers wounded. They were wounded when the Congress office was raided. The British soldiers made attacks on the people who were returning home after extinguishing a fire at Ander Shaher on 3rd May 1930. I have seen Ex. F I know Moti Jabawala. He is in the list of the wounded as No. 41. He died in the hospital on account of his injuries.

Q. (Chairman). Do you pay income-tax?

A. I pay Rs. 200 as Income-Tax.

Q. Why have you come here?

A. I had gone to Lahore on business. There I learnt that the Peshawar Enquiry Committee had come to Rawalpindi. I thought it my duty to give evidence before it. Hartal was observed on 23rd April 1930. It was due to the arrest of local leaders. On the same day the liquor shops were to be picketed at 9 o'clock. I am a Congress volunteer. I did not go to Congress office at 9 o'clock. I went to see whether the Hartal was complete in Bazar Hatta. The Kabuli Gate is about two furlongs from Kotwali. I saw the leaders coming on foot. The crowd was following them. I went along with the crowd. The

armoured cars arrived 15 or 20 minutes after me. British soldiers were sitting in them. I cannot tell the exact number. I did not recognize the Deputy Commissioner. The leaders first remained standing outside. Then they made speeches. They said that if the people sympathised with them they ought to continue Congress work by non-violent means. They ought to enlist as Congress volunteers and strengthen the Congress work. As far as I can remember I did not see any men pelting stones. When the leaders had gone in, the armoured cars arrived. People were crushed underneath it. I went to my Mohalla Karimpura to give information. The witness identified Deas Raj, No. 28 in the list Ex. F. He was a pupil of Lala Baij Nath, tailor of my street. I also know Lala Daswandi Mal No. 11. I also know Moti Jabawala, No. 41. They are entered amongst the wounded in this list but they died in the hospital.

31-5-30 (Sd.) JWALA DASS

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

48

The statement of Fazal Ul Rahman, son of Ghulam Haidar, Age 35 Years, Occupation 'Pan' Dealer, Residence Peshawar

When I reached the Clock Tower on the morning of 23rd April 1930, while going to my shop, I heard people talking about the arrest of Lal Badshah and others. They were saying that they were taken to Thana under arrest. I also went to the Thana and then came back to my house. As there was Hartal in the city I did not open the shop. At about 11 or 11-30 I heard that firing took place in Kissa Khani and several people were killed. On hearing this I came to Kissa Khani and saw the people removing the injured and the dead. Some were taken to the Khilafat office and some to Gharkhana. I also helped in removing one of the dead bodies. After this I came back to my house. Afterwards I heard the people saying that the authorities were not allowing the people to remove the dead bodies. At this I again went to Kissa Khani and saw the dead bodies lying and several persons talking. The British soldiers did not allow the people to remove them; anybody who tried was beaten by the British soldiers. The number of the dead and injured is not less than two or three hundred. I could not see this scene and came back. On 4th May 1930, the military pickets were so strong that no one could stir out from his house; owing to this military picketing the children and the women remained hungry. Anybody attempting to stir was beaten. One shop was open in my mohalla when I went to purchase food stuff, I saw a British soldier standing. When

I came near the shop they pursued me. I ran away and came home. I know Abdul Majid, son of Bhadu, his number is 24 in Ex. F.

To Diwan Daulatrai:—I saw many dead bodies in the Kissa Khani. They were lying on both sides of the bazar on shop platforms, beneath them and in the bazar. I saw bullet marks on the houses and 'Chabaras' as far as the shots could go. There were no blood marks in the bazar. We heard that the blood was washed away by the Government.

To the Chairman:—The people who were removing the dead were shot. Some people ran away on the commencement of firing and some stood there. The people standing there were telling the military that they might shoot them but the people would remain non-violent. All the people were of Peshawar. I ran away.

Thumb impression of

31-5-30 FAZAL UL RAHMAN

Read out to the witness who has put his thumb impression on the statement in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

49

The statement of Abdul Rauf, son of Abdul Karim, age 32, Occupation Zemindari, Residence Utmanzai, District Peshawar

On April 23rd 1930, when I was sitting in the shop in village Utmanzai, Sub-Inspector of Police Ghulam Mohmud Khan and policemen suddenly arrived in a motor lorry and got down opposite the shops and went up to the office of the Frontier Youth League which is situated at the gate of my shop. They enquired about Sarfraz Khan, the Commander of the Youth League volunteers or Khudai Khidmatgars. He was at home at the time. He came out and accompanied the policemen in the lorry willingly and cheerfully. After that they (the police authorities) went in search of Haji Shah Nawaz Khan, who was at the village, Mohammad Nari, that night. We came to know from the driver who had brought Abdul Ghaffar Khan from the village Naqi that Shah Nawaz Khan was also arrested. At the same time news was brought about the arrest of Ahmed Shah, Barrister. This news spread through the country like lightening. The people began to muster strong at Utmanzai and at the Tahsil Charsada armed with rifles, axes, spears, pistols and heavy cudgels, indignant at the arrest of innocent persons who were popular and loved by every one. The crowds swelled to some seventy or eighty thousand. The Khudai Khidmatgars (volunteers) controlled the crowds with great determination and cool-headed perseverance and their work was praiseworthy beyond description.

Even the weapons of the crowds, guns, sticks, etc., were secured from them. And after satisfying the people with gentle words, they saw that they dispersed in the evening at about 5 or 6 p.m., although the Government had tried to spread among the people the news, with the intention of creating mischief that Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his party had said that the people should take care lest they (i.e., Abdul Ghaffar and others), should be spirited away from among them. Yet the Khudai Khidmatgars kept a magical control over the people and prevented any outburst of violence.

Peaceful Meetings at Different Places

After Khan Sahib and his party were taken away enthusiastic but peaceful meetings were held at different places. The speeches delivered in these meetings were all intended to produce a calm atmosphere among the people, because most of these people had come after saying good-bye to their families. The Ulema and the leaders controlled the situation with great tact. I want to say at this stage that the movement grew tenfold. The Government did not interfere at this time.

General Massacre in Peshawar

On 23rd April 1930, at 3p.m., the news came that the Government had blown up the people of the city with machine guns. We tried in every possible way to reach the spot to know the real fact. But the city was besieged on all sides. Nothing but armoured cars were visible outside the city. I saw it with my own eyes that any one who went near the rampart of the city was beaten with lathis. Therefore we had to return.

Military Expedition Against the Village Utmanzai

On 13th May 1930, at 3 a.m., the Government beseiged the village Utmanzai while it was still dark. At the break of day the Deputy Commissioner with British and Indian troops entered the village. Outside the village were posted eight hundred British mounted troops and one regiment of Indian cavalry consisting of Sikhs, Mohammadans and Dogras. Besides this, were present Shia soldiers, three hundred strong, who had been specially enlisted to assault. These Shias were from trans-border villages, in Tirah, where they had fought each other on a religious issue and been defeated. Government had given them shelter for its own selfish ends. There were four Lewis guns and numberless machine guns outside the village. The Deputy Commissioner went near the office of the Khudai Khidmatgars and ordered the British and Shia soldiers to break the gate of the shop over which the said office was situated. They tried their best but failed. They therefore surrounded the balcony by climbing up the walls. The soldiers who were standing below began to break open the shops. They broke open the flour shop of Suleman, resident of the village Ajjar, and after throwing his empty bags

hither and thither, took away two hundred rupees of his, which he had placed under these empty bags. He duly reported the matter to the Anjuman.

The Burning of the Office

The British soldiers after breaking the wicket opened the Mandi gate when there was no person present. The soldiers rushed in at once and broke open the baithak of the Mandi. The sacks lying outside were torn up by bayonets. The bags of Gur (Sugar-cane juice) were emptied. They ate some of it and took away as much as they could. When they were told that it was a Mandi they replied, "Damn the Mandi. It is Red Army Stores." The books of the Mandi that were found there were burnt. My partner, Srimund, had returned the same evening after having collected all dues from outside. As the time was short I deposited the collected money along with the list in the wooden almirah, thinking that next morning after checking the accounts, expenses, etc., I would enter it in the books. Next morning the events above described took place. The money was taken away by the soldiers. In order to correct the accounts I am trying to find out how much money he (my partner) had collected. Approximately some four thousand rupees are missing. I can estimate the loss due to the loss of books. I do not know how much money is still with the Zamindars and merchants and whether I will be able to recover it or not. The "invoices" have been handed over to the merchants but no receipts have been made out. The above matter was duly reported to the Committee.

The Deputy Commissioner went up to the balcony and ordered the Khudai Khidmatgars who were on duty there to go down and to take off the uniforms. They replied that they would not go down unless ordered by their own officer, and that they would rather die than take off their uniforms and clothes. At this Rabnawaz Khan, the Commander of Khudai Khidmatgars, ordered them to go down with cries of "Long Live Revolution." The Deputy Commissioner tried to prevent them shouting slogans as they were going down and touching the breast of a Khudai Khidmatgar, named Shambaz with his revolver ordered him to take off his clothes. He replied "Sahab, yeh hargiz na hoga, aur khas kar Pathan ka pajama maut ke kabl utar nahin sakta." "Sahib, it is impossible and the trousers especially of a Pathan cannot be taken off so long as he is alive." At this the Deputy Commissioner himself beat him with fists and two British soldiers began to beat him with the butt-ends of rifles till he fell down unconscious. In his unconscious state his clothes were torn and thus he was rendered naked. After this Faiz Mohammad, a Khudai Khidmatgar was ordered to take off his clothes. He too refused. Eight or nine British soldiers began to take off his clothes forcibly. But he was a tall and powerfully built

young man, and they could not bend him. Then they wounded him on his forehead and the wound is still there. They beat him so much, that he lay unconscious for hours. In his unconscious state, every British soldier who was there kicked him. Thus one after the other every Khudai Khidmatgar, who was present there was beaten severely, and his clothes torn off. Ghulam, Abdul Razak and several other Khudai Khidmatgars were hurled down on the pukka metallic road from the balcony. Abdul Razaq broke his foot. Ghulam's head was injured. Abdul Ghaffar and Hakim, Khudai Khidmatgars were wounded by bayonets. The beating that was given to Mohammad Naqib Khan, the Captain of the Khudai Khidmatgars is beyond description. His shirt was forcibly taken off, but when he was ordered to take off his trousers, he dashed towards his house which was nearby to fetch a revolver to retaliate. But Rab Nawaz Khan, the Commander shouted "Is your patience exhausted so soon that you are going to retaliate by violence? You swore to remain non-violent according to the Congress creed till death." At this he returned, bareheaded and barefoot and without any shirt and was arrested.

In the confusion and beating which was going on, was standing in uniform a small boy named Abdul Wali Khan, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the pride of the Afghans. The Deputy Commissioner asked the small boy, "Who are you?" He replied "I am the son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan." The Deputy Commissioner having abused him signed a British soldier to bayonet whereupon the soldier leapt towards him like a mad man. But a Muslim soldier who was witnessing this affair, intervened and his hand was injured severely by the bayonet. Another British soldier who was standing by advanced but Mir Hassan Khan, brother of Sarfaraz Khan, who was in charge of the arrested persons at once took the boy in his hands and jumped down to the Masjid which was near and thus saved himself and the boy. At the time of coming down, the balcony was burnt by the acid. The whole Bazar was in danger of being burnt down, but the Sappers and Miners and other people extinguished the fire.

Eighteen Khudai Khidmatgars were arrested and taken towards the residence of Mohammad Khan. Then the licensed arms were collected from the people. Sardar Ram Singh who was the Peshkar (the chief attendant) of Baba Faqir Singh and was the manager at Utmanzai was arrested on the ground that he should surrender the gun which he had for the safety of the Gurudwara. He replied that it had been deposited in the Government godown at the time when Baba Singh was going to his house. Even inspite of this excuse, he was kept in the police lock-up for two days.

L. Gokal Chand was asked to return the licensed gun and also to return the pistol which he kept without a license. He

replied that he had no objection to return the gun only if cost price could be given to him. As regards the pistol he had none. He was also put in the lock-up but released later on. Maulana Sahib Mohammad Israd who was at home at that time was also arrested.

The Khans of the villages were called and scolded for not preventing the people from making "mischief." They replied that they were starved people and that when a child cries, the mother gives milk to it and it keeps quiet, and that people should be conciliated by showing them mildness and kindness. It is beyond our powers, they said, to control them. Hidayat Ullah Khan, son of Captain Khan Sahib, brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan requested the Deputy Commissioner, not to use abusive language, as it was beyond the pale of decency and gentlemanliness. At this he was arrested.

After this, twenty-one men, Hindus and Mussalmans included, were taken in chains. On both sides were infantry armed with bayonets. In front were Indian mounted soldiers, behind them the British mounted soldiers, after them Lewis gun and machine gun, in the middle the prisoners, behind them again mounted British soldiers, behind them guns and behind them were Indian mounted soldiers. The wounded refused to be treated by the English and used Indian medicines. I was personally present at this point. It is a custom among us that when anybody is arrested, we start the picketing of the lock-up in order to know and obtain the information of the removal of the prisoners and the conduct of the case against them. Accordingly the picketing was started in the night. Early next morning, the Deputy Commissioner, coming out of his bungalow, ordered the Khudai Khidmatgars to disperse. They replied that they would not leave their duty except by order of their own officer. The police was ordered to beat them, at which they refused and said that they could not use force on the lambs. "Order us" they said "to fire at them and that too on one condition that the first shot be fired by you. We will follow you." They were sent back and the Shia army was called from Peshawar by telephone. They beat the Khudai Khidmatgars on duty so much that they bled at nose and mouth and their clothes were torn, but they did not budge an inch from their duty. At last when they apprehended the danger of a fight between the Shia and the other troops they ceased beating. The beaten persons were six Khidmatgars and one Jamadar who is now responsible for keeping them non-violent and safe.

Village Takkar in Tehsil Mardan Burnt Down

Khudai Khidmatgars in Utmanzai applied for permission to oppose the Government.

On 27th May 1930, at 8 a.m. I was sitting in my Mandi.

Two Khudai Khidmatgars rode recklessly in the Mandi and brought the message that since 2 a.m. at night the army had beseiged the village and till the time they left, four houses belonging to respectable men and where the Khudai Khidmatgars used to sit had been set fire to and the flames were seen rising to the sky. The people of the Ilaqa were ready to fight the Government and the people of the surrounding villages were also prepared to give help. Only the permission of the Central Committee was wanted. A letter from the Central Committee was given to them instructing the people and especially the Khudai Khidmatgars to remain non-violent, even if they were hanged. If any man went from Utmanzai and if any accident occurred the Government would get an opportunity of using violence and accusing us. As far as I know Khudai Khidmatgars kept non-violent. When the flames of the fire rose to the sky, the people of the surrounding villages hurried to help them thinking that fire had broken out in the village. The Government ordered to open fire of rifles and machine guns upon them, the detailed report of the killed and wounded etc., the Central Committee, Utmanzai, will be receiving to-day, God willing!

To the Chairman:—This is my statement and it is correct. I have signed it.

Utmanzai is at a distance of seventy-one miles from Peshawar. Motor lorries ply on this road to Utmanzai. Khan Sahib Abdul Ghaffar Khan also lives there, Dr. Khan Sahib is the elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He is also a resident of Utmanzai. He practises as a Doctor in Peshawar. Abdul Ghaffar Khan is a member of the Peshawar City Congress Committee. He is the Vice-President of N.-W. Frontier Provincial Congress Committee. There is a Congress Committee at Utmanzai, the name of which is The Assembly of the Youngermen of the Frontier (Jirga-i-Naujawanan-i-Sarhad). The reason to so name it is to make the people understand it as they do not understand the word 'Congress' but do understand the word "Jirga." The Central Committee of the Jirga consists of 100 members, and Sub-Committees have ten members each and every village has a Sub-Committee. Members for the Central Committee are selected from these Sub-Committees. There are eight big villages. The constitution of the Jirga i.e. Assembly is in Pushtu. The object of the Assembly is the same as that of the Congress. We have translated in our own language the very rules framed by the Congress. This Assembly has been in existence for one year and its work has gained strength. After the Lahore Congress we set up Independence as our creed.

Like the Sub-Committees there are Khudai Khidmatgars everywhere. The number of Khudai Khidmatgars in Tahsil Charsada is more than one lakh. At the time of enlistment every Khudai Khidmatgar reads the creed of the Congress. The edu-

cated Khudai Khidmatgars sign their names. The uniform which is worn consists of a mixture of four colours, red, blue and black. Our flag is made of black colour. As there is a controversy about the Congress colours therefore we have adopted the black one. After the decision we will adopt the same colours as the Congress. My personal capital is forty or fifty thousand rupees, with which I am running a Mandi. I have two water mills the value of which is fifty thousand rupees.

The value of my land is forty to fifty thousand. Our houses including those of my tenants are eighty. My house is a pucka one while my tenants' houses are kucha. I am not a member of the District Board. Only nominated members are on it. On 21-5-30 Mr. Miller S. D. O., called a private meeting of big Zamindars, so that they should stop the agitation. No persons who were either Congress members or Khudai Khidmatgars or members of the Assembly were called to this meeting. Only such men were invited who were Government members. The meeting was a private one and was well guarded. So that no man, a Khudai Khidmatgar or their Congress sympathiser should enter. They had issued admission cards, some 150 for this meeting. Mr. Miller gave a speech at this meeting. We got a copy of this speech. I can say with certainty that this is the exact copy of his speech. I am prepared to accept all responsibility for this statement. I am sure that the men who were present at the meeting will admit that it is an exact copy. How I got the copy I am not prepared to disclose. It is a confidential matter. One man of our own was present there. He knew shorthand. He took down every word of the speech. I will not disclose his name. With this copy is attached the copy of the speech which I gave in reply to Mr. Miller's speech.

Our Ilaqa (our part of the Tahsil) is all sound. The army which was brought for our repression with the British soldiers was all Shia. There is a deep-rooted enmity between the Shias and Sunnis in this Ilaqa.

31-5-30 (Sd.) Abdul Rauf Shah

Read out to the witness who has signed the statement in the presence of the Committee.

31-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

50

Syed Sultan Mahamed, son of Syed Mahamed Niwaz, age 26 years, occupation Zemindari, residence Peshawar

On the morning of the 23rd April 1930, I went to School. It was 10 o'clock and I was still at school when some persons came and reported that firing had taken place in the Kissa Khani bazar and that many men had been martyred. I inquired what

had happened. They replied, the police were taking away Messrs. Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux Barqi. The lorry got punctured near the Memorial Chowk and the above-mentioned gentlemen then went on foot. When they reached the Kabuli Gate Thana, they found the doors closed. As the city had observed hartal that day owing to nine arrests, a large number of people had collected outside the Kabuli Thana. The arrested persons shouted repeatedly to the police authorities to open the doors; but the doors remained closed. Thereupon the above-mentioned gentlemen again requested the crowds to go away but the people had not the heart to go leaving their unselfish servants at the door of the Thana.

After this four armoured cars entered the Kabuli Gate at such a high speed and without hooting that five men were crushed under them and some seven persons were wounded. The crowd moved back.

In the meantime the doors had been opened and the above Congress workers had gone in. The crowd began to raise cries at this tragic event, and demanded that the armoured cars be removed so that they might remove the dead bodies of their brethren. But nobody cared for this. The order for firing was given.

The school closed at 1o'clock and I came to the office of the Sarhad. The volunteers of the Khilafat brought thirty dead bodies and 40 wounded. About 3 p.m. the volunteers were coming from the Kissa Khani with empty stretchers. I enquired and they replied "they are aiming their rifles at us too and four or five of us have been martyred. They don't allow us to remove the dead bodies." Then I went personally to the Sadar side in order to see the state of affairs outside the Kabuli Gate. I saw eleven closed ambulance cars going towards Sadar till 4p.m. while I was sitting in a mausoleam (ziaratgah) outside the Kabuli Gate.

In the evening the troops were removed for half an hour from the bazar. The roads were suddenly closed again. As there were people still in the bazars who wanted to go to their places, the British soldiers wounded them and belaboured them. At about 8 p.m. I reached the office of the Sarhad where I learnt that the Khilafat volunteers had till then collected and conveyed fifty-five dead bodies and 150 wounded. At 10-30· p.m. I, in company with Sahib, Ghulam Nabi Khan, Sardar Askar, came down from the Sarhad office and left for home. On our way we learnt that at that time somebody had brought three dead bodies from somewhere to the Khilafat office. One of them was a Hindu who was immediately sent to the Seva Samiti and the rest two were taken to the Islamia Madrasa. The Maulvis were requested to recite the Quran the whole night. We went home

at 12 midnight. On the morning of 24th on coming out of the houses we learnt that the authorities had removed with the assistance of the troops the dead bodies at 2 a.m. The bazars were patrolled by the British troops and everybody, including women and children who strayed into the bazars and lanes were chased and badly bayonetted. At night while at home, I heard shots fired at about twelve. On the morning of 25th I saw a crowd near the Clock Tower where I also saw blood on the ground. I learnt there that there was blood in Bazar Baterbazan also, I hurried to the spot but the place had been thoroughly washed.

The troops had left since morning. While I was sitting in the office I came to know that the Government had requisitioned 200 Boarder and plainclothes men. This gave rise to rumours among the people. It is alleged that the Government had induced the outside villagers to plunder the city, but on their refusal to do so Shia soldiers of the Kurram Agency were called in for the same purpose; but due to the presence of Congress and Khilafat volunteers they did not succeed.

We went home at 8-30. On the way we met a lorry containing twelve or thirteen plainclothes men who went out of the Toot Gate, which led us to believe that there was something suspicious. I went home and Yunis went to his place. But I was restless and went again at 9 to the latter's house. I asked him to accompany me as we suspected a calamity. Yunis accompanied me and said that the Police Inspector must be informed first. We went to the police. Six Sub-Inspectors were sitting with him. I asked the Inspector why he had boycotted us as there was no constable throughout the city bazars and we had closed some of the city gates. Thereupon he ordered the Sub-Inspector of Hashtnagar to go at once; but he did not go in our presence to post the pickets. I accompanied by Yunis patrolled Sar Asqar and offered our assistance to him. After that we came to the Khilafat office and Sar Asqar sent the volunteers in our presence to post the pickets. I accompanied by Yunis patrolled Kissa Khani and other places till 3 a.m. Thereafter I returned home and Yunis remained on duty.

On the night of 3rd and 4th May we learnt that several arrests would take place. Accompanied by Yunis I went to the office of the Sarhad. At 1 a.m. we came to know that there was a fire. We went out and came back at 2-30. When I got up at 5-15 a.m. I saw that the troops had come into the bazars. The following arrests took place during the day.

Yunis Sahib, Abdul Rabkhan Nashtar, Dr. Ghosh, President, Provincial Congress Committee, with ten other gentlemen, were arrested. The above-mentioned gentlemen were arrested as they were recording statements of the wounded regarding the

occurrences of 23-4-30, and making inquiries from the relatives of the deceased, so that this tragic happening may be published to the world in its truest colours. This annoyed the Government. We also learnt that they went upto the offices of the Congress and Bharat Sabha and badly wounded the volunteers present there and ordered them to go out. Property worth six hundred rupees was burnt down. Thoroughout the day the British soldiers continued belabouring most mercilessly and injuring the people. The city was so thoroughly picketed that the residents of one lane could not go to the other. Hundreds of people, including women, were wounded. The Mosques in important bazars were closed due to military pickets. And those whose houses were situated in the bazars could not get water throughout the day.

5-5-30. There are regular military pickets and atrocities were being perpetrated and the troops were wounding the people as before. The troops were patrolling the streets and bazars every hour. They also visited the blind alleys and there belaboured the children. I returned home at 8-30 p.m.

6-5-30. Military pickets continue but cruelties are a bit less than yesterday, I mean the wounding and belabouring. Many persons have individually informed the Chief Commissioner of the real facts; but in vain. In this connection the Editor, The Sarhad, Mr. Taj Mohammed Khan Taj, has published a poster containing a brief resume of events. I produce it now. One or two letters were also addressed to the Chief Commissioner which were replied to by him.

7-5-30. Military still continues, and during the last three or four days about 200 persons have been seriously injured.

The following are known to me:—

(1) Faquir Muhammad Khan.
(2) Abdulla son of Amir Khan.
(3) Madad shop-keeper.
(4) Masamat Farooq.
(5) Faqri, son of Lal.
(6) Sardar Gul Khan.
(7) Ghulam Hussain.
(8) Gul Mohammed.
(9) Ghulam Mustafa.
(10) Umar Bux.
(11) Haji Sardar, Municipal Commissioner.
(12) Mr. Pir Bux, Vakil and Municipal Commissioner.
(13) Mr. Mohammed Yunis, Vakil and Municipal Commissioner.

(14) Allah Bux Sethi.

After this occasional arrests continued. Five persons were taken to the Thana without handcuffs by the Inspector. And the people remained perfectly peaceful in pursuance of the instructions issued by the Khilafat office holders.

21-5-30. The Government wants to record evidence before allowing the witnesses to appear before the Commission of Enquiry.

It is rumoured that a procession of the ladies is to start from Karimpura. Military pickets were stiffened in Karimpura and shops were looted. The doors of the houses were chained from outside and for three days the troops continued acting in the same manner. Two Khilafat volunteers, while distributing posters advising people to boycott the Government Commission, were arrested.

28-5-30. The above-mentioned two gentlemen have been released. The volunteers who were bringing them and raising shouts, were arrested by the police, in front of the Kabuli Police Station, to whom they surrendered. They were made to stand naked in the sun from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m , and were taken to jail in the evening. They were not given water nor were we permitted to supply them with food and drink. About the release of the first two volunteers, the Khilafat Secretary was sent for. The Secretary, Khilafat Committee, states that three Khudai-Khidmatgars were brought to the Central Jail in his presence, who raised National slogans. The Chief Medical Officer ordered their removal to the Judicial lock-up. He sent for a "tiktikki", cane, the doctor and the Superintendent of Jail. They were given three stripes each for raising shouts.

These events are bound to deeply affect the people. Mr. Carew came at 6 p.m. to the Khilafat office at the head of 200 British soldiers. The military patrol ceased for a few days but it is again being started.

The said Secretary of the Khilafat Committee being ill cannot come. He has specially instructed me to present these facts before you

To the Chairman:—I am a Municipal servant. I wish to give evidence in camera. And till the publication of the whole evidence before this Committee I pray for this concession. I know that my name will be published in the report. But I want to give evidence in camera so that I may work in peace for a few days.

I saw dead bodies in the Islamia School which had been brought there by the Khilafat volunteers at 10 p.m. from the Khilafat office so that they might be buried on the following morning. The British troops removed them at night to some unknown place. The school is situated near the Khilafat office.

More than fifty-five dead bodies were brought to the Khilafat office that day and 150 wounded also. A list was prepared but it is at Peshawar. I will send it, on reaching there, if I get it from the Sarhad office. I know Ilahi Bux, Khilafat volunteer. Our correspondent was present when the dead bodies were brought to the Khilafat office. He made inquiries regarding their names and entered them in a list which has been published in the Sarhad dated 29-4-30. I can confidently assert that the list is correct and the persons have actually died. Out of the list I know the following:—

Ghaffur Khan, Huzzur Khan, Lassi, son of Sher Dil, Mohammed Said, son of Fazal, Ilahi Bux, son of Mohammed Sadiq, Mir Ghulam Shah, son of Mohammed Newaz Shah, Khilafat volunteer. I produce the Sarhad paper dated 29-4-30 (Ex. J) The facts I have mentioned in my evidence are correctly recorded in the paper. In Ex. F, I know the following wounded persons:—

Abdul Halim, son of Abdul Hakim, Mohammed Yunis, son of Mian Mohammed Bux.

Q. When was the Memorial in honour of the Martyrs raised?

A. On 27-4-30. I present a photo of the same, (Ex. K) I had written the following Urdu words upon it "In memory of the Martyrs for the liberty of India, Peshawar 23-4-30."

I also produce page 7 of the Frontier Advocate dated 6-5-30 which contains a hand-drawn picture of the memorial raised in memory of the martyrs for the liberty of India at Peshawar. It is Ex. L. This memorial was built by Mohammed Ashiqji, Fruit Merchant, who paid for it. It cost more than a hundred rupees. The people raised memorials in streets on the spots where they saw the dead bodies of their brethren. They placed lights and offered flowers at the said memorials. The flowers were offered because the innocent blood of their dear brethren had been shed there. The people illuminated these places like "Divali" continually for three or four days. It was generally believed that tombs would be raised at these places and the road would be blocked. It was for this reason that Ashiqji, fruit merchant, came forward to erect that memorial at one place as the expression of their joint desire, photograph whereof I have produced.

Q. At what spot was the memorial raised?

A. At the platform in the Kissa Khani Bazar at a distance of two steps on the right hand side of the road leading from Kissa Khani to Dhaki Nal Bandi.

When Ashiqji had erected the memorial he noticed that on the very first night the people offered flowers and kindled innumerable lights having given up the memorial worship at other

places. He therefore decided to raise a permanent memorial to perpetuate the memory of the martyrs for all time to come. He purchased ralling, the following day, and got it fixed all round. Ashiq Hussain was arrested on a charge of murder under Section 302 I. P. C. within a week.

Q. When was the memorial demolished?

A. I think it was demolished in the third week of May.

Q. How was it demolished and by whom?

A. Ashiqji was made to demolish it in the presence of the superior officers under military coercion at 4-30 a.m.

Ashiqji who was in custody on a charge of murder, Sec. 302 I. P. C. was brought from Jail and was made to strike the first blow. He did not know why he was brought there. British troops were present. All superior military officers were standing there and all rifles were aiming at Ashiqji. He was ordered to demolish it, which he did. He was released thereafter, and told that there was no longer a case against him. All this has been told to me by Ashiqji himself. He is now free.

1-6-30 (Sd.) Sayad Sultan Mohammed

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J Patel

Note:—Although the witness has been examined in camera at his request, he has no objection to his evidence being published along with the other evidence.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J Patel

51.

The statement of Abdul Hayi, son of Miran Abdul Gaffur, caste Afghan, occupation Timber Merchant, residence "Kaka Jamadar" Street Peshawar City

I learnt on the morning of 23rd April 1930, that National leaders had been arrested on the previous night. When I went to the bazar, I learnt that two leaders had not then been arrested. When I was standing near the Clock Tower there arrived two lorries full of police near the Congress office. The Sub-Inspector said that he had warrants for Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux. On this both the leaders surrendered themselves to the police. The lorries started off. As the people were accompanying the lorries to escort the leaders to the Thana I also joined the crowd. The crowd was moving in a most peaceful manner. When the lorries arrived near the Chowk Yadgar, the lorry which was carrying the leaders got punctured. The police and both the leaders got

down and started on foot towards Kabuli Gate. At this time the crowd was also proceeding peacefully. When the leaders arrived in front of the Thana, the door of the Thana was closed. The police knocked at the door but it was not opened for a very long time. When the door was opened the leaders went in. They advised the people not to do anything illegal and act on the policy of non-violence. In obedience to this advice the people began to disperse. At this time three armoured cars came running there with great speed. They did not sound any horn. Soon after one armoured car went over the people. This action wounded and put many people to death. They were about ten in number. Seeing this condition and seeing the wounded gasping, the people began to pick up the dead bodies. At this time some one brought a cot and one dead body was placed on it. Then I started off with that dead body which was taken to the Khilafat office. After this several other dead bodies arrived there in my presence. After this I went home. I heard that firing took place for the second and the third time. I came out of the street and saw people carrying away dead bodies upto 6 p.m. On 24th April people were taking out the funeral of a martyr near the Clock Tower where a squadron of the military was also posted. When the European officer of this squadron saw the people coming with the funeral he ordered his squadron to be ready. People stood there with greatest calmness and patience and with their chests open. The people said "Yesterday you have killed many innocent brethren, now please kill us also." At this time one educated man stepped forward and spoke to the said officer that the people were taking the martyr for burial. When the officer understood that the people meant no harm, he became silent after saying one or two words. The people proceeded with the funeral. After this day the troops began troubling the people very much. This went on for several days. Shopkeepers opened their shops in the morning and when half of the shops had been opened, suddenly the British soldiers appeared on the scene and got the shops closed after beating the shop-keepers. In the morning of 4th May, when I left my house, I saw all the ways closed by the British troops. On that day many members of the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha were arrested. The property of both these offices was taken possession of by the British troops. I heard that this property was burnt. Pickets were stationed at both these offices by the British soldiers. After this, British troops were withdrawn but the police pickets are still there. Uptil now the military is stationed in the city. People experienced great difficulty in going to their sacred places for prayers on account of the military. Accordingly Id prayers could not be said in the Idgah, as is usual every year.

I assure you, gentlemen, that this statement of mine should be considered as my last statement because I feel that the Govern-

ment following its usual policy of repression would arrest me for this statement. The Government wants that the cry of our unfortunate province should not reach your ears. The news is being circulated in our city that he who goes to Rawalpindi for giving evidence would be arrested on his return.

To the Chairman:—I have put in my written statement. When the police admitted the leaders inside the Thana, a European arrived there on horseback and returned immediately People stood fast to their conviction and were shouting National slogans.

Q. When did you return a second time?

A. When the armoured cars arrived and the people were crushed. When one dead body was taken to Khilafat office, I went with it. People had nothing in their hands.

To Dewan Daulatrai:—Every meeting which was attended by several thousand people always ended in peace and the people returned home peacefully.

I am a member of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. The President was Comrade Sanobar Hussain, who is under arrest. He had not then been convicted. It has now been declared an unlawful assembly. Upto this time about twenty members of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha have been arrested. The object of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha is to organize labourers and farmers. They follow non-violence. I am not a Khilafatist. Khilafat is a religious body and Congress is a National one. Their ideas are not opposed to one another, rather they are similar. They too wear Khaddar and remain non-violent.

Q. How have you come?

A. I read in a newspaper that the All India Congress Committee had appointed an Enquiry Committee and I have come to give evidence before it.

Q. Did you have any trouble in coming here?

A. I have come clad in foreign clothes because I thought they might trouble me as a Khaddar clad person. Even then I have been put to much trouble. I arrived here day before yesterday.

Q. Do you recognise any of the dead?

A. I know the following out of the dead on the list Ex. F:—

1. No. 5 Illahi Bux, Mohamad Hafiz.
2. No. 11 Lalla Daswandhi Ram.
3. No. 24 Abdul Majid, son of Babusu.
4. No. 33 Guffoor Mali

and I know the following out of the wounded:—

1. No. 2 Mohamad Unas.

I remained in the Khilafat office on 23-4-30 for only 15 minutes.

1-6-30 (Sd.) ABDUL HAYE

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

52

The statement of Mohammed Yusuf, son of Ghulam Rasul Khan, Afghan, age 37 years, occupation landlord and merchant, residence Tahsil Mardan, District Peshawar

On 23-4-30, the day of the occurrence at about 2-30 p.m. I entered the city through Dabgari Gate. From Dabgari Bazar I came to Kohati Gate, and passing it and the Mission School I reached a street which opens in Kissa Khani Bazar. At the end of the street opening in Kissa Khani, the Gurkhas were standing. I came near them and wished to enter the Kissa Khani Bazar, but they did not allow me. I stood by them and saw the happenings in Kissa Khani. Some dead bodies were lying there, but no one came forward to remove them in my presence. In this street near one hotel the people were saying that those who attempted to remove the dead bodies were also killed. After this I heard firing now and then. This was going on between 4 and 5 p.m. I heard that one man was shot near Old Egerton Hospital. In the evening I went to the Khilafat office to find out the number of dead bodies with them. I came to know that at that time they had three corpses at Madrassa Jattan. They had sent one dead body of Ilahi Bakhsh, a student of the Islamia Collegiate School, to his relatives. As it was late in the evening, I could not see responsible people, and so could not satisfy myself. I then went to the Congress office. There was a Sikh regiment under the office, and there was silence in the Congress office. One or two persons met me and they said that a few minutes before my arrival Magistrate and Police Superintendent, who were both Englishmen, came to the Congress office and asked for the removal of National Flags and the badges. But the volunteers in the office refused to obey; at this the officers went up the office and took away the badges and the National Flags. They also took Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal, the representative of the Associated Press of India. The police took all the people to Gorkhatri police station. When I came down from the office I met Amir Chand who confirmed the above news. At that time I came to know that the body of a Hindu was brought to Khilafat office but his relatives could not be traced and so it was handed over to Seva Samiti. Now it was dark and the orders were that no one should go out after 8 p.m., and no one should light a lamp. I went to my house. On 24-4-30, I again went

to the Congress office. The people were coming there in great numbers, and were enquiring about the dead. The lists were being prepared. After one or two days the Congress bulletin was published. After the bulletin was issued, the people still came in my presence to enquire about their missing relatives. The names of the missing people were taken down and then the second incomplete bulletin was issued. At this stage it is necessary to mention that the dead bodies lying in Madrassa Jattan as above-mentioned, were taken away in the night by Municipal Commissioners by breaking the locks. We also came to know that they removed dead bodies from wherever they could find them. It was rumoured that they had disposed them off by throwing them in the river, they were busy in burying the dead. I got the news confirmed by them and they confirmed it in the public meeting in Shahi Bagh and said that besides those dead bodies, other dead bodies were taken by the Government. On the morning of 4th May 1930, the military entered the city and wanted to arrest the leaders of the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha. The Government issued a proclamation in the city declaring the two Associations unlawful assemblies. It was said on Government side that these Associations had conspired with the Haji Sahib of Turangzai. At this stage it is necessary to mention that after 23-4-30 the daily bulletin giving the daily events of the Ilaqa and the country was issued by the Congress.

In one bulletin, Haji Sahib of Turangzai was mentioned and also that in Shabqdar and Chitidheri public meetings were being held—the last mentioned villages are situated near Peshawar city in Tahsil Peshawar in British territory. In my opinion the Government took advantage of this news and made this an instrument to declare the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha as illegal and unlawful assemblies. So far as I am acquainted with the views of the National workers and of the Congress Committee officials and so far as I have studied their views, because I have been a member of the Congress Committee, therefore I can say with certainty, that there is not a single person on the Congress Committee who preaches any other thought or view than the non-violent and peaceful creed or who holds any other view or who is carrying on intrigue with any outsider. Since 4th May 1930 soldiers are occupying the city. After 4th May the British soldiers have been beating with "dandas" (batons) people at various places and I have seen this with my own eyes. In whatever bazars the soldiers passed they beat whomsoever they wished, so much so, that two Municipal Commissioners—one Pir Bux, Vakil, and Mohammed Nawis—were beaten by "dandas" in the Ganj Bazar. Their injuries were simple. But I was informed by Mr. Pir Bux that he mentioned his injuries to Sir Abdul Qayum. Since 4th May there was so strict watch (Naka Bandi) that the people could not get the necessaries of life

from the bazar and the British soldiers were so posted that there was hardly any intercourse between the inner and the outer city. For many days such conditions lasted. Yesterday 31-5-30 in the morning at 9-30 I was standing in the bazar near the Kabuli Gate. When a tonga entered the Kabuli Gate. In the tonga a Sikh gentleman was sitting in the front seat; while at the back a lady was sitting with a child in her lap, and one 8 year old girl was also sitting by her. At that time I heard a shot fired. The tonga advanced a few paces, there was a shriek, the tonga driver stopped the tonga, the girl fell down and the people ran towards her to pick her up from the ground. The police constables and the British soldiers also left their posts and ran towards the spot and surrounded the dead body and pushed away the people. The people demanded the dead body. Meanwhile Mr. Carew, the Deputy Commissioner, reached there and the soldiers also came in sufficient number. The people were crying pitiably and were demanding the dead body. The Officer Commanding was told that until and unless the dead body was delivered to the people, the crowd would go on increasing every moment. The Deputy Commissioner promised to hand over the body after the post mortem examination was over. While this talk was going on the soldiers began to belabour the crowd with "dandas" and bûtt-ends of rifles. Many were injured before my eyes. Again and again the people were pushed back from the Kissa Khani Bazar. The dead body was handed over by the Lady Reading Hospital authorities. The people formed a procession and accompanied the dead body, passed through the city and reached the home of Seth Karim Baksh in the Ganj when a regiment of British soldiers came there from the other side and fired at the people who were going in a procession with the dead body. When I got the news I went to Doctor Khan Sahib's shop in the Ganj in the inner city and there I saw the doctor treating the injuries of the injured people. Any one whose injuries were treated was sent to the Civil Hospital. I accompanied many injured people to the Civil Hospital. As the soldiers made a complete blockade of the spot in question, the number of the dead and the injured persons could not be exactly known yesterday. But the Khilafat Committee prepared such a list and arranged for the burial of the dead. I could not find out the number of the Mohammedans, Sikhs and Hindus separately in the Khilafat list but the number of the Musalmans seemed greater than the others.

The Congress bulletin was published about the dead and injured on 23rd April. Many were identified. When the injured were taken to the Congress office their names and addresses were taken down. Afterwards the Congress people made a round in the different parts of the city and prepared a list. Many came to the Congress office and dictated the names and addresses of those who could not be found. Another list of the persons whose names were discovered after the last list was also prepared; but as

the police took away all the papers and furniture from the Congress office this second list could not be published. It is necessary to submit here that the Government took away all the property of the Congress and also it is learnt that some articles owned by the Congress Committee have been burnt by the police. The people living in Peshawar City and Government Ilaqa Baroon, outside Peshawar city, kept non-violent in obedience to the mandate of the Congress and bore the oppression cheerfully. Khaddar is now universally being worn in Peshawar. If this Enquiry Committee had its sitting in Peshawar, it would have undoubtedly seen the signs of stray firing, which was resorted to without the order of the City Magistrate. The doors of the shops and planks still bear signs of the firing. I beg to submit about Afghan Jirga and Khudai Khidmatgar that they are the votaries of non-violence and follow very closely the wishes of the Congress and work for reforms in the country through peaceful means. Hitherto civil disobedience was not resorted to by them, but the Government owing to its nervousness suspected them and arrested the leaders, and they much resent the order whereby this Committee, whose representatives they were, has been declared an unlawful assembly. Then the turn of the Kohat Congress Committee came. It is difficult to imagine with which Haji Sahib they had made political alliance, that they were also victimised. Then the turn of the Congress Committee at Dera Ismail Khan came and it was duly attacked. Shortly a proclamation of this nature, concerning the Hazara Congress Committee will be issued, and its fate sealed. These days every part of the North-West Frontier Province is being oppressed under the pretext of public peace. And to uphold the dignity of law, severe punishments, which were meted out to the Moplas, will be their fate, so that they may be deterred from participating in the National movement, and might be cowd down to such an extent as never to try for Constitutional reforms. If the bureaucracy is sincere and upright, then why are people from outside debarred from entering the North West Frontier Province even for the distribution of relief. I well remember the fact that when Maulana Abdul Kasuri gave intimation to the Deputy Commissioner of the intended visit of the Doctors of the Punjab to offer medical aid the reply was given that no medical aid was required as the wounded were being very well looked after!

I want to submit at this stage the fact that on the night of 24th and 25th April, some people were returning from the fair of Shahbari Latif. At night the military pickets fired at those people who entered the city. On 25th April (morning) I reached Pacca Pul near Ghanta Ghar, and saw people in dismay. I came to know that on the previous night some persons were shot dead. The place of occurrence is near from there. I personally visited the place and saw fresh blood stains. The passersby used to stand

round the places of occurrence, and look at them in amazement. I cannot recognize Ilahi Bux who was murdered, and Ghulam Jelani who was wounded.

An Enquiry Committee was appointed by the Congress Committee to find out the causes of the incident; and to make out a comprehensive list of the killed and wounded. The Committee started its work of inquiring into the incident and obtained considerable material. But unfortunately they were arrested, and the police took away all the documents, and the belongings of the Congress Committee. On the previous day, the Chief Commissioner, expressed his sentiments of sympathy by the beat of drum to Sardar Ganga Singh for the bereavement of Sardar Ganga Singh's wife at the loss of their children, who were killed and besides this an assurance for the immediate appointment of an inquiry was given. I submit herewith the Government announcement in original.

(*Note.*—The witness produced a proclamation by the Chief Commissioner, dated 31-5-30 which is Ex. M).

To the Chairman:—I have given a written statement. It is true. I did not know Ganga Singh, but I learnt yesterday that he was serving in the Government Diary Form. On 31-5-30, when the people were going in a procession I was far away and therefore could not see the firing by the British soldiers, but I heard the shots. I do not know why firing took place. I was far behind. I do not know how many died and were wounded as a result of the firing. I went to Dr. Khan Sahib's dispensary and saw many wounded persons being dressed. From there we brought four or five wounded persons to the Lady Reading Hospital.

To Lala Dunichand:—On 23-4-30, when at about 2-30 P. M. I reached a lane which opens in the middle of Kissa Khani Bazar, some persons were asking the people not to go further as firing was going on. I can identify these men, but I do not know their names. I can say with certainty that the Congress had no correspondence with the Haji of Turangzai whatsoever, nor did it invite him as is stated in the official proclamation. The proclamation Ex. A which was issued by the Government on 29-4-30 contains these words that the Congress had admitted having correspondence with the Haji of Turangzai and had threatened that they will have the district invaded by a lashkar of Hill Tribes. This is absolutely untrue.

Q. (Dewan Daulatrai):—I did not understand you, whether you saw the tonga of Ganga Singh being fired at?

A. I heard a shot and immediately after I saw a girl falling from the back seat of the tonga. She was killed. People gradually collected at the place of occurrence. Before the crowd had

collected, the British soldiers and the police made a cor don round the dead body. The military and the police tried to lift the dead body of the girl and began pushing back the crowd which had collected near the dead body. The crowd swelled and the military was strengthened. The crowd numbered about 1,000 at the time. The military people went with the dead body to the Lady Reading Hospital outside the Kabuli Gate. The people on the spot wanted to go with them but were not permitted to go. The dead body was however taken to the Hospital.

1-6-30 (Sd.) MOHAMMED YUSAF

Read out to the witness who has signed the statement in the presence of the Committee.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

53

The statement of Lachhman Dass, son of Bhagwan Dass, caste Soni, occupation service, age 22 years, residence Peshawar

Yesterday when I heard that a woman had been shot at in the Kissa Khani, I went first to the bazar and then to the hospital, where in a room I saw the dead bodies of two children, a boy and a girl aged one and seven years respectively, and in another room I saw a wounded woman who was being operated upon. She was the wife of Sardar Ganga Singh, whom I recognized. Subsequently when the operation was over, I went, again in the room where Ganga Singh's wife was, with the photographer. In my presence she was photographed. After that the people who had collected there having taken out the funeral of the two dead bodies of the children, entered the Ganj via Andar Sheher and Chowk Karimpura. Thereafter performing ceremonies and passing Gorkhati they started towards Mohalla Dhallan. They were at a distance of ten paces when British soldiers came from the other side. As there was a big crowd, Hakim Abdul Jalil advanced and asked a British military officer to give them way to pass. At this a British soldier struck Hakim Abdul Jalil with a bayonet wounding his hand. A Sikh gentleman sat down and entreated that officer to give them way so that they may pass that it was not a procession but only the corpses of two children. This was what Hakim Sahib also said. After this some other gentlemen also made similar requests and asked permission to pass but the officer refused permission and gave the soldiers the order to fire. The British soldier began firing while kneeling on the ground people began falling but did not let the pyre fall. Whosoever of them was wounded was succeeded by another immediately and there was no discrimination between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Whosoever was wounded and remained alive, carried the pyre forward which was taken to the Dharamshala

of Biba Singh, but I got on to a balakhana nearby, wherefrom I saw all these incidents with my own eyes. A few minutes after the pyre was taken, every British soldier came there and blocked all the roads. The people and the relatives of the deceased who were present in the lanes and on the roofs of the houses nearby, were asked by a military officer to send for persons to take away the dead bodies. I myself saw 20 or 25 bodies being carried away by the people, which included the dead and the wounded. Subsequently when I reached the Khilafat office from the other house I learnt that they had received a number of dead and wounded which was 40. I myself saw the dead and wounded at the house of Dr. Khan Sahib. Of the dead I know Chamanlal, son of Nika Mal, Haji Mohammed, Bakhshu and a Sikh labourer. Of the wounded I recognised Abdul Jalil, Harrbhad Asa and several others whose names I do not know.

To the Chairman.—When general firing took place the dead and the wounded were taken to the dispensary of Dr. Khan Sahib and from there were removed by their relatives after identification. The wounded were dressed there. I saw 20 to 25 wounded and the dead being carried by the people from the place of occurrence with my own eyes. I went to the Khilafat office and from there I learnt that many dead bodies and wounded were lying at the house of Dr. Khan Sahib. There was no cause for firing. Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi made clear to the officer in charge of the military that it was not a procession but they were taking two corpses to be cremated, but a soldier struck Hakim Sahib with a bayonet which he warded off by his hand and his hand was grievously wounded. I did not see Hakim Sahib at Khan Sahib's place. I got up on a balakhana very close to the place of occurrence and watched from there. I can say definitely that no one threw stones, etc., nor had they anything in their hands. They only entreated to be allowed to pass.

To Diwan Daulatrai:—What I mean is that I did not notice anything to provoke on the part of the people but the British troops in their pride they struck the Indian people and the people in the rear of the procession raised cries of Inquilab Zindabad after the firing had taken place. What else could they do.

1-6-30 (Sd.) LACHHMAN DASS

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

54

The statement of Mani Ram, son of L. Dhani Ram, caste Khatri, age 33 years, occupation Commission Agent, residence Mohalla Ram Pura, Peshawar

Yesterday on 31-5-30 at about 9-30 A. M. Sardar Ganga Singh was coming towards the city from the side of Kabuli Gate with his wife and two children. At this time I heard the sound of firing at Dhaki Nalbandi from the side of Kabuli Gate. I ran towards the gate. I saw one child aged about 2 years and one girl aged about 9 years shot dead. I also saw the wife of the doctor lying wounded. The military immediately blocked the way through the gate. This news immediately created hartal in the city. About two or three thousand people collected on the spot. Meanwhile a big party of British soldiers, Sikh soldiers and Pathan soldiers arrived on the spot. The Sikh soldiers assaulted the people with bayonets and 6 or 7 persons were greviously wounded. I know two out of the wounded, one is Lala Karam Chand and the other Baba Asa Nand. After a little while Hakim Abdul Jalil and Salim Khan Sahib arrived on the spot. Sardar Ganga Singh, Hakim Abdul Jalil and Salim Khan demanded the dead bodies which were given to them after many entreaties. The dead bodies were brought to the hospital. After medical examination funeral was taken out. It reached Ganj via Andar Sheher and Chowk Karimpura. From there when the people arrived near Tahsil Gorkhatri, Salim Khan Sahib took pledges from the people to remain non-voilent and peaceful. After this the funeral procession started towards Bara Bazar. When they arrived near Mohalla Dhallan, armed troops came from the opposite side. They stopped the procession by force.

Hakim Abdul Jalil and others requested for a passage from the officer of the troops, but they did not give way and the officer did not accede to the request of anybody. One British soldier assaulted Hakim Sahib with a bayonet and caused a wound in his hand. At the second assault one other person came in between and the Hakim Sahib was saved. Sometime after the officer ordered to open fire and the people began falling. I returned home via Mohalla Dhallan. I personally know two out of the dead. One is Chhaman Lal and the other is a Sikh who worked as a labourer and out of the wounded I know Sardar Kirpal Singh, son of Sardar Arjan Singh and I also know Lala Beri Lal. People are uptil now peaceful. The soldiers are committing much violence. All ways are closed.

I have put in my written statement. To the Chairman:— Twenty-three people died, twenty-five people are wounded. I learnt this from the Khilafat office. Khilafat Committee has prepared a list but it is not yet complete. This shows that 23 are dead

25 wounded but many more people are injured but they are not in the hospital. I was present on the spot. I estimated all casualties at about 50. I have brought the list prepared by the Khilafat Committee, I have a copy of it. I started from Peshawar last night and arrived here this morning. This list is incomplete. I left Peshawar at 10 A.M. There, by 7 A.M., ten dead and twenty-two wounded were entered in the list and I was told that a complete list was being prepared. Volunteers have gone to collect material for completion of the list. I produce the list. It is Ex. N. All the dead and the wounded were photographed. I think the plates and the complete list will reach this place by to-morrow morning.

Information about 23 dead and 25 wounded has reached the Khilafat office. Their names and addresses were being taken down. I have brought the list of those above names and addresses which had been discovered. I have produced that list. The volunteers had gone out to investigate about the rest. I have come here. Firing was done by British soldiers. In Peshawar the British soldiers alone have been firing so far as it is known to me. Indian troops did not fire at all. Shia people who are in the Border Militia commit violence on the citizens. The Suni Mohammedans, Sikhs and Indian troops did not fire at the people. Neither they used lathis on them.

Q. Why did they fire on the people?

A. Our leaders including Hakim Abdul Jalil and Salim Khan requested the officer of the troops to give way to the funeral party or to get aside and pass along. One Sikh young man entreated the officer very much while sitting on the ground and requested him to give them way to take the funeral on. Similarly the other leaders made entreaties but the officers did not pay any heed to their requests. Instead of acceding to the request of the people, they replied by bayonets and assaults upon the poor unarmed people.

Q. What was your fault?

A. There was no fault of ours. Shots were fired at the innocent. I think and it was evident from their attitude that they had orders to kill us and had come to shoot us. There was no Magistrate. I know Dr. Khan Sahib. I fell in the crowd and many people fell over me. I have received injuries. I am feeling pain in chest and legs. I have a mark of injury on the leg.

Note.—The witness showed his mark of injury to the Committee.

1-6-30 (Sd.) MANI RAM

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

55

The statement of Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadwi, son of Mohamad Abdulla, residence Mohalla Kazi-Khelan, Peshawar

I was a member of the All India Congress Committee and also of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee. I am doing National work since eleven years. I am acquainted with the working of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee. I have attended several meetings of the Working Committee. If I missed any meeting, still I got all information about its proceedings. Therefore what I state about the Congress is correct.

All the members of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee except myself have been arrested. It appears that I have not been arrested owing to the fact that I am not taking any practical part in the present struggle of the Congress for Independence and in the Civil Disobedience movement. Owing to certain family affairs I am not prepared for arrest and conviction in these days; I proclaimed this fact in a public meeting. Another cause, for my remaining still outside jail, is that the authorities perhaps like my activities for maintaining peace. However the fact remains that I am still outside the jail to grieve while my friends are in jail.

I came to know at 10 p.m. on 22-4-30 that arrests would take place at 3 a.m. There were 11 warrants issued and most probably a warrant against me was also issued. I waited till 3 a.m. At about 3-30 a.m. Aga Sayad Kasim Jan, member of the Working Committee of the Congress, and Pir Shah-in-Shah, President of the Congress Committee, Kohat, came to my house and informed me that Lala Paira Khan was arrested and the police had surrounded their houses. In the morning I came to know that Maulvi Abdul Rahim Devbandi and Khan Ali Gul Khan were arrested in the night. Aga Sayad Lal Badshah, comrade Rahim Baksh Gaznavi, Maulvi Khan Mir Hilali and comrade Acharj Ram were arrested in the morning at 7. Mian Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Mian Allah Bakhsh Barqi went to the Thana along with Aga Sahib but as their warrants were with another Sub-Inspector they came back to the Congress office. 23-4-30 was the day fixed for starting the picketing of liquor shops. Most probably the Government was not prepared to tolerate this picketing. The authorities thought that if they arrested the leaders perhaps the Congress would desist from picketing, and it would not be started. But the Congress did commence the picketing and the people observed Hartal voluntarily. I went to the jail to have interviews with Aga Sayad Lal Badshah, Khan Ali Gul Khan and other arrested persons, but the Superintendent of the Jail did not allow me. I went to the Deputy Commissioner for permission. The Deputy Commissioner only gave me permission to see Aga Sahib,

and Khan Ali Gul Khan. Ashiq Hussain, fruit merchant and a friend of his accompanied me and we stayed in the jail upto 11. At about 10 or 10-15 a.m. we got information in the jail that armoured cars were going towards the city at great speed; we thought that they were sent to overawe the people. But at 10-30 or 10-45 we got information that firing took place in the city. One British soldier was killed and many Indians became martyrs. I requested the jail authorities to arrange the interview at once, as I could not stay there any longer. We sent Mian Ashiq Hussain's friend at once to the city in order to get for us the right information. At 11 or 11-15 Mian Ashiq Hussain also went away after remarking that firing had taken place in Kissa Khani, and he was not sure whether his relatives were safe or not. My interview was arranged. I told Aga Sahib what I heard and asked for a message. He gave a message that the people should remain peaceful. He expressed sorrow for what had happened. At about 11-20 a.m. I reached Edwards gate but the road was closed. I entered the gate with the help of one Sub-Inspector and arrived on the spot. When I entered the gate I saw one armoured car burning. British soldiers were standing in the bazar. The military was standing in a line near the water Pump at Dhaki Nalbandi and the people were standing on the other side. The fire Brigade Motor was standing in the crowd. I gave the message of Aga Sahib to the crowd, and requested them to disperse and go away. Also that a meeting will be held at Hastings Memorial and they should all reach there, but the people did not agree to it as they said that they were run over by the armoured cars without any reason and they were fired at without any fault of theirs. Those who had committed atrocities should go back. If they wanted to kill them they might do so. The crowd was much provoked but was non-violent. The Congress volunteers were preventing the clash. I intervened between the crowd and the officers for a compromise. But neither were willing to budge from there. Mr. Isemonger, Inspector General of Police, was present at the spot. I implored him that he should remove the British soldiers and armoured cars but he did not agree to the suggestion. Although he was exercising patience yet he was not moving an inch from his position. I again wished to see the Deputy Commissioner, so that I may make him understand the situation, but he had already gone after being wounded.

The officers showed no inclination to listen to me. Even then I requested some of the Police Officers to have the British soldiers and armoured cars withdrawn. Opposition would then come to an end. Khan Bahadur Said Ullah Khan Sahib, City Magistrate was quietly lying on a charpai inside the Thana. I sought his cooperation but he seemed helpless. At last I proposed that if it was necessary to disperse the crowd, the least force necessary should

be used. The Fire Engine was present. Water might be thrown on the people or the people might be dispersed by the use of Lathis. For the last time I again prayed and beseeched the people to disperse but they did not agree. Finding myself helpless I went and sat down at the shop of Ashiq Hussain. At this time people began bringing empty boxes for placing them before their front row. So that they might be safe from firing. I could not bear to see my people shot down. I left for my house at about 1-20. Afterwards I learnt that the people were fired at by machine guns, armoured cars, rifles and pistols and were thus dispersed. I remained at my house for two hours and a half. At about 4 p.m. I wished to go out to help the people but on coming out of the house I found all the ways blocked. Then I sat on a balakhana on the road seeing the people coming and going. Armoured Cars were passing by. Civilian officers were also sitting in the cars. The roads remained closed for the whole day. I somehow or other reached Gorkhatri at about 6 p.m. and I saw some Boy Scouts under arrest but they were released after some time. The Military patrolled the city in lorries but there was not much hindrance in going about. On the same day 2 or 3 funerals were taken out. Section 144 was promulgated, but it was ignored by the people. The military was withdrawn on the night of 24th or 25th and the police was also withdrawn on the 26th. Some people drew the attention of the authorities to the fact that dacoity and looting might take place in the city; but they were told that the police would fall ill and then would be unable to do any work if they were not allowed any rest. If there would be any extreme emergency police would come for help. Thus the Congress volunteers were compelled to look after the safety of the town and to control the traffic. The volunteers controlled the traffic for the whole day and patrolled the town at night. This state of affairs remained for 2 days. The volunteers of Seva Samiti, Sewa Sangh and Akali Jatha did commendable service in guarding the city. The Provincial Congress Committee had appointed a Committee consisting of Abdul Rab Khan Nishtar pleader, Mr. Radha Kishen, Vakil, and myself to find out the correct number of the dead and the wounded and also to ascertain true fact and then to submit their report. It is a pity that all the papers cannot be found at present, otherwise we had collected much useful and important evidence which is destroyed now. Probably the police has taken possession of the papers when searching the office or it is possible that they may be with somebody else.

As obstacles were put in the way of carrying the news from the city to the outside world, it was decided that Congress bulletins be published. News were censored. In the bulletins the news of the city and of other places on the Frontier was published and these bulletins were being sent to all the places. Previously a man used to write it but after the publication of the Congress Bulletin

No. 9, it was decided that proofs be shown to me. One copy was shown to me, perhaps that was Bulletin No. 10. Bulletin No. 11 was not shown to me. For further precautions it was decided that a lawyer be consulted. Mr. Pir Bakhsh, pleader and Municipal Commissioner, was elected a member of the Working Committee, perhaps this was decided in the Working Committee of 2nd May.

From the 23rd to 4th May no processions were taken out, only meetings were held and liquor shops were picketed. The authorities had themselves closed the liquor shops and it was said that these would remain closed for two months. Then the Chief Commissioner Sir Norman Bolton, had assured the people that no more arrests would be made. The military was also withdrawn by his order. I was told that other officials held contrary views, and they were not satisfied with sending the military a second time, and so within three hours he had to resign and go to England.

Between the night of 3rd and 4th May the military was again posted in the city. On the morning of the 4th the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Congress Committee were declared unlawful bodies. All the leaders were arrested. The Congress Committee, was accused of inviting Haji Sahib of Turangzai to invade Peshawar, which is altogether false. The fact is that in the occurrence of 23rd not only the inhabitants of Peshawar were killed but people of Afghanistan and No Man's Land were also killed. From the relations we have with the tribes, it naturally follows that we consider their troubles as ours and they regard our sufferings as theirs and in this incident their own people were also wounded and killed. When the wounded arrived there and the tribesmen learnt the facts they flared up. Everybody is thankful for their sympathy. But we who are the followers of non-violence could never invite them to help us by violent means. But we have no power to prevent them from being violent. They are free and responsible for their own actions. Congress has never been in correspondence with the Haji Sahib or any other tribes and has no connection with Haji Sahib.

Since the 4th May the conditions are that the military is occupying the city. Day and night the military is patrolling the city. In the early days the passersby in the bazar were also beaten. But when the Khilafat Committee, Peshawar, drew the attention of the Chief Commissioner to this fact then beatings were reduced. On the 19th May the monument built in memory of the martyrs of Peshawar and in memory of the 23rd April was caused to be pulled down by the maker thereof. This man was arrested under a charge under Section 302 for an offence of murder. But when he pulled down the monument he was released. Stray arrests are being made even now. People have been distributing handwritten posters. And those who are arrested on suspicion, security is demanded from them. On 31st May when I was sitting in

my dispensary, the brother of Mr. Pir Bux, pleader, informed me that a British soldier had murdered two children in Kissa Khani. I went there at once. And there I saw the same spectacle as on the 23rd April. On the one side was the crowd and on the other were the police and the Border militia. I somehow reached the Kabuli Thana from the side. There I was waiting for some official when the Joint Deputy Commissioner arrived there. I enquired from him the facts. He said that he was very sorry for what had happened. It was an accident. Still inquiry would be made into the matter. The offender had been arrested. He was cleaning his rifle and a shot went off. The offender would be court-martialled. I asked him if he could be tried by a civil court. He replied he could not say definitely. I asked him to deliver the dead bodies to us and people would go away of their own accord. He agreed to what I said and gave me a letter to receive the dead bodies. As the post-mortem examination had not been done there was delay in getting the dead bodies. I handed over the letter to another person and came to the place where the crowd had gathered and gave an assurance to the people that the dead bodies would be delivered. After half an hour information was received that the dead bodies had been delivered to Sardar Ganga Singh, the father of the deceased and that he had taken the dead bodies to the Gurdwara Asamai for the performance of religious rites. I informed the people about this fact and all proceeded towards the said Gurdwara. Taking the dead bodies from there we reached the Hastings Memorial passing from inside the bazar, I was leading. I saw a party of British soldiers and Sikhs coming from the direction of the Clock Tower. On this side was the procession and there was an apprehension of a clash. Proceeding further I came up to the Pukka Bridge. The officer of the company was in front. I told him that a funeral was coming and that he should keep aside oor get into the street. But the officer was a gentleman and he ordered a retreat. And a possible clash was thus avoided. The procession passing through the different parts of the city reached Gorkhatri, where there was the same officer and his men. I requested him that British soldiers should be asked to go in. This time again the suggestion was accepted. I requested the officer to close the gate also. This was also agreed to and the matter passed off quietly. Here Mirza Mohammad Salim Khan Sahib made the people take a pledge that they should remain non-violent entirely and even if they were shot they should not use violence against anybody. People stood the pledge and the procession proceeded. This English officer who twice acceeded to my requests was Lt. Bramley of the K. O. Y. L. Infantry. We are extremely grateful to this officer. We had advanced about a 100 yeards when I saw another batch of British soldiers coming.

I again went forward. This time the officer was in the middle and the soldiers in the front going forward with slanting rifles. Proceeding forward I inquired from them as to where their officer was. Instead of answering my question they levelled the rifles at me and pointed the bayonets to my chest. Had I not retreated I would have most surely been dead or grievously hurt. Turning aside I rushed into them so that I might see their officer. I could not see the officer but I saw another person who had three medals. I told him that this was a funeral. He whistled and the soldiers in first row proceeded further and entered right into the procession. Probably the officer also went forward. The processionists gave way to them. In the meanwhile this same officer Billawala whistled and ordered a halt. Those in front stopped and those in the rear turned left. At this time a British soldier attempted to attack by bayonet a person who had caught his rifle. I told this man to give up the rifle. At this time one British soldier fired on an old man who was standing on the other side of the Bazar. He died as soon as he fell. What more was needed? Firing started. Two or three volleys were fired. Standing on the platform of a shop I kept on imploring the British soldiers to stop firing. Two soldiers levelled their rifles at me. I asked them what my fault was that they were going to kill me. By the blessing of God they did not shoot at me and went forward. All this occurrence must have taken only three or four minutes. We started to pick up the dead and the wounded, those people who had taken refuge here and there also came up. The dead bodies of the children were also taken up. The dead and the wounded were first laid at the Mosque and then they were carried on the charpais to the place of Dr. Khan Sahib. As it had become widely known about me that I had been killed, after I was free from these arrangements I went to my house and then directly came to Dr. Khan Sahib and took the wounded from there to the Lady Reading Hospital. It was the Essex platoon that fired. I did not hear the officer give the order to fire. A British soldier in the back fired the first shot. I met the soldiers and officer of this batch at 2 o'clock when I was taking the wounded to the Hospital, now they wanted to close the passage to the Kotwali. We told them that this was the way to the Hospital. If the passage was closed how were we going to take the wounded? He said he would allow the wounded to pass. He inquired from me as to how many had been killed. I told him that 8 had been killed and 20 wounded. I told him that he had not given the order to fire. He said that he had not. But in the evening I came to know from another officer that he admitted having given the order. On investigation it was found that 10 had died and 20 grievously wounded. Only 12 wounded have been admitted to the Lady Reading Hospital. These are the facts known to me and which I have stated without exaggeration or minimising. This incident had such an effect on me that I have

left my home and came away. I will stay for a few days in Kashmere. No man with feeling and self-respect can live in Peshawar under the existing British soldier's rule. For such a man there are only two courses open, either to protest vehemently against it and go to jail or leave the city. As I am not prepared to go to jail I am compelled to leave my native land. May God bestow special blessings on my Countrymen and relieve them from this torture! May it so happen! Oh God! May it so happen!

Note.—When the witness read the concluding portion of his statement, he was weeping bitterly.

To the Chairman:—I have resigned from the Khilafat Committee as I did not want to join any communal Committee and as I approved of the Congress creed I had joined the congress. Maulana Abdul Hakim is a most learned man and is the president of the Provincial Khilafat Committee. I am a member of the All India Congress Committee and am a member of the Working Committee of Peshawar Congress. I entrained at Peshawar on 1st June 1930. I know a little bit of English. At this stage the Chairman read out to the witness a statement in English by the Khilafat Committee, Peshawar, which had just arrived by post and inquired if it was correct? At this the witness replied that it was all correct, except the portion that firing took place from Gorkhatri at Gandi about which the witness had no personal knowledge. Except for this portion the rest is all correct. I am an eye-witness to the rest of the occurrence. This statement is Ex. O. The Chairman showed a stamp of the Khilafat Committee on the statement and enquired whether it was that of the Khilafat Committee. Witness said that it looked like that of the Khilafat. I believe that report had been prepared by them in the following circumstances. A meeting of the Working Committee was requisitioned at 3 p.m. I was also called there and it was decided that after finishing the funeral rites at 6 p.m., a statement be prepared on behalf of the Khilafat Committee, which should be sent to the Patel Committee, and the Suleman Committee.

I am sure that the said statement was prepared and sent by them as I have got in my possession the list of the persons who were killed on 31st May 1930, by the British soldiers opposite Mohalla Dhallan. The list of the injured is not with me.

(The witness gave the list after tearing it from the pocket book and signed it which is Ex. P).

The names appearing in Ex. N are contained in my list also. In my statement I have mentioned that 20 people were injured. They are the persons who are injured in the last incident. Sardar Ganga Singh's wife was also injured but her name is not in the list.

Q. Can you say definitely that the people were not at

fault?

A. Yes. I am as sure as it is day just now. No one even spat, no one abused. No order for dispersal was given. The people were not informed that they were going to be fired upon. The procession allowed the military to pass on, and gave way. If they wanted to proceed they could have done so easily. The proclamation No. 10 Ex. F, was prepared by our Congress Committee, and it was prepared with great care. I believe it to be correct. About 500 copies of this proclamation were printed. The Government has not contradicted this. It was trying to procure copies. I saw one C. I. D. man copying it from poster pasted on the back of Yadgar Shahidan. The work of preparing this list was entrusted to Hafiz Abdul Karim, Kulla merchant, by the Congress Committee. The information was gathered by the volunteers. In different mohallas the volunteers were appointed. They sent in the written report to Hafiz Abdul Karim.

Q. Is 'The Sarhad' issued at Peshawar?

A. It was issued from Peshawar but has been stopped now because security was demanded from it. Another newspaper the Frontier Advocate is also issued from there. It is still being published. It is not a Nationalist paper. No security was demanded from it as in the case of the other three papers and the 'Sarhad' which stopped publication, whereas it continued publication. There is at present no Nationalist paper in the Frontier Province and no news of the province can go out. Several newspapers come from outside into the Frontier.

The Exhibit I was shown to the witness. The Chairman asked if the picture on page 7 was correct. The witness said that it was correct but the inscription upon the stone was different. Instead of the words "Shubdai-azadi" the words "Shahidan-i-azadi" were written there. Ex. K was shown to the witness. He said that the picture was correct. On its right and left there are Congress volunteers one is Maulvi Pir Bux who has already given his evidence before the Committee (Witness No. 3).

Q. You have written Edwards gate in your statement, what do you mean by it?

A. I mean the Kabuli Gate which is now called by the people "The Bloody Gate." The Kissa Khani Bazar is called by the people "The Martyrs' Bazar". As I have stated in my statement, I reached the Kabuli Gate at 11-30 I did not see in the crowd any man who had any weapon, i.e., stick, stone, etc. At 1 p.m. of course I saw small pieces of dried mud falling from above upon the armoured cars.

Q. What do you mean by "above"?

A. I mean the balconies.

The people's demand was that the British soldier's and the

armoured cars should be withdrawn and they would disperse. The people said that they would not go unless the British soldiers and the armoured cars were withdrawn, even if they were shot dead.

Q. How did you come to know that the man who erected the monument was arrested under Section 302 Indian Penal Code?

A. He himself told me. He is my friend. He was arrested and deported to Burma along with me in 1919 and we were kept together as State prisoners. He remained under arrest under this Section for 14 days. He was arrested on the 5th and was released on 19th. On the same date he was released in the morning on the demolition of the monument. The monument was demolished at 5 a.m. He was taken out of jail at 10 p.m. He was kept at the Bungalow of the Deputy Inspector-General, Mr. Lathen, the whole night. A Magistrate was also sent for at 11 p.m. His fetters were removed the same night at the same Bungalow. His statement was recorded and a recognizance of Rs.2,000 was taken from him. He was taken to his house at 2-30 a.m. So that he may collect his friends. He collected his brother-in-law (Sister's Husband) Ghulam Rabbani, fruit merchant, his brother Khadam Hussain and 2 or 3 of his servants. From there they all were taken near Town Hall, opposite the Thana. At 4 a.m. all turning of ways were guarded. Troops were brought in a lorry. When there was some light at about 5 a.m. he was asked to demolish the memorial. He and his companions demolished it. It is stated that they were waiting for the light because they wanted to take photographs and two or three photos were taken. Except for the statement with regard to photos, the rest of the statement is what Ashiq Hussain told me at 11 a.m. on the 19th May. Ashiq Husain is a well-to-do man. I was imprisoned thrice in 1919. I was arrested on 28th May and was released probably on 23rd October. I was arrested on the 28th May under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 and then again in 1921 on 21st February security of Rs. 10,000 was demanded from me under the provision of Frontier Crimes Regulation Act.

I refused and was in jail for 3 years. The imprisonment was rigorous. The only reason for this was that I was a non-co-operator. I formed the Congress Committee and came to see the Mahatma at Rawalpindi on 19th February 1921. I was accompanied by Pt. Amir Chand Bamwal. I do not want to go to jail now since I have many responsibilities on me, for instance, I have young children and my wife is without friends and relations. My brothers are not well off and they cannot look after the well being of my wife and children in my absence. There are other household responsibilities too.

Q. Why are you going to Kashmir?

A. I am going to Kashmir for the very reason that I am

no longer strong enough to be able to see this rule of tyranny by the British soldiers. I can also not remain quiet and if I am not quiet then imprisonment is in store for me. This is why after leaving my children I am going to Kashmir.

Q. Do you realise the risk in coming here?

A. I have come to depose before this Committee after very great compulsion. Because I am afraid that for my deposition here some steps will be taken against me, but I am not so shameless that I cannot bear even such of hardship. (The witness collapsed at the moment). There are five districts in the Frontier Province. Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazzara. These are five administered districts and besides these there are agencies, the exact number of which I do not know. There are Congress Committees in all the five districts. On 4-5-30 the Peshawar Congress Committee was declared unlawful. This notification was issued by the Local Government on 4-5-30. All the Congress Committees and Naujawan Bharat Sabhas, which were in the Province, were at once declared unlawful. This notification came in force in Peshawar on 4-5-30. It came into effect on 4-5-30 in Kohat and Peshawar and on 13-5-30 in Bannu. There is a Congress Committee in Bannu uptil now. The same was done in Dera Ismail Khan. I have no information about Hazzara.

Q. Which is the greatest centre of the Congress activities in your province?

A. The Congress activities in the Peshawar District were in full swing before the 4th May 1930. Before the 23rd April 1930 the Peshawar district used to lead the whole province and the Congress movement in Bannu as well. Kohat was more enthusiastic than Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan was a bit backward than Kohat. Hazzara was the most backward province in this respect. The Head Quarters of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee were at Peshawar. This Frontier Provincial Congress Committee was guiding all other Congress Committees in the province. There are five Tahsils in Peshawar district. These Tahsils are as follows:

1. Murdan. 2. Nowshera. 3. Charsadda. 4. Peshawar. 5. Swabi.

Q. Who is the greatest leader in your province?

A. None could be said to be the greatest of all leaders but Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Agha Lal Badshah are the most influential gentlemen. Abdul Ghaffar Khan has once been a Vice-President of the Provincial Congress Committee for a year. He is an inhabitant of Utmanzai. There also he has greater influence in the country side than Khan Sahib. He is the most influential gentleman. The Go-

vernment thinks him to be a dangerous man, that is why he has been sent to jail for three years. He has been imprisoned thrice before this. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is respected and revered by the Frontier people just as much as Mahatmaji is respected and revered in India proper. He is a staunch follower of Mahatma in his Khaddar and non-violent movement. He is the owner of a large estate and is the protagonist of the movement of Khudai Khidmatgars and Youths Associations. Khudai Khidmatgars are in thousands and at the time of joining they have to pledge themselves to non-violence and are votaries of non-violence. The chairman showed the witness a representation, the like of which had been sent to the Suleman Committee by the citizens of Peshawar, and which was signed by 50 men and enquired as to who were the signatories.

The witness answered that the signatories are the merchants of Peshawar and have no special connection with the Congress. This is the original statement and not a copy. Really there were two documents and each of them contains the original signatures of theirs. One of these was sent to Suleman Committee, and the other to Patel Committee. One of these men who had signed on the document sent to the Suleman Committee had withdrawn his signature, but he is a signatory to the document sent to Patel Committee. As far as I know none of the Congress and Khilafat members has signed the document. This document had been sent to me for signature but I did not want to submit any request to the Suleman Committee, because it was appointed by the Government and for this reason I did not sign the document. Some of these signatures were affixed before me. The signature which was delated from the document submitted to the Suleman Committee was cancelled in compliance with my opinion, and in my presence. I presume that this document has been sent to you for information only. It is Ex. Q.

Q. Have you read the Sarhad of 29th April?

A. Yes sir, I have read it.

Q. Do you know that six of the Khilafat volunteers were shot dead when they went to bring the dead bodies?

A. I have learnt through the newspaper that Khilafat volunteers were also martyred. These were killed in the course of lifting the dead and I have heard that the people were not able to lift many corpses. For this reason with the help of some Municipal Commissioners and local pleaders the Government during the night got buried a few corpses. These dead bodies which were buried through Municipal Commissioners and pleaders were not more than six. If the Government, besides these dead bodies, disposed some more, I have no knowledge of that.

Q. Was any dead body found in the Dhaki Nalbandi on the

24th April, and is it correct?

A. I think that the dead body which was taken out in the form of a procession on the 24th April was the dead body of the same person which was found in Dhaki Nalbandi. The procession passed before my dispensary. I shouldered the bier, and later on left the crowd. But certainly there were armoured cars and military soldiers following the funeral procession of Daswandhi Ram. I saw his bier being carried over Pakka Pul. These armoured cars and the military were seen at that time. This happening is of 24th April. The witness was shown the topographical plan of Peshawar which is Exhibit R, and the witness has pointed out the following places:—

(*a*) Kabuli Gate and Kabuli Gate Thana.
(*b*) Qmach Pazan or Bazar Tin Garan.
(*c*) Dhaki Nalbandi.
(*d*) The place where the horse had fallen.
(*e*) Congress office.
(*f*) Mohalla Dhallan.
(*g*) Khilafat office.
(*h*) The dispensary of Dr. Khan Sahib.
(*i*) Gorkhatri City Police station Kotwali.
(*j*) Gate Assa Mai.
(*k*) Hastings Memorial.
(*l*) Lady Reading Hospital.

2-6-30 (Sd.) Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadwi

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Further statement of the Hakim on being recalled by the Chairman

Q. Just see Ex. T and U and state whether it faithfully represents the condition of the bazar when you went there.

A. The state of affairs presented in the two photographs is exactly as I actually saw on the spot on the 23rd April on my arrival there at 11-30 a.m. This is a correct and precisely exact photograph of the spot. I do not know who took the photograph. I have not seen these photographs before; but I had heard that photographs had been taken on the spot. Photo Ex. T has been taken from close quarters which represents the state of things from the place of occurrence to the Kabuli Gate. Photograph Ex. U has been taken from a short distance which prominently shows the condition of the crowd. The photograph taken from close quarters

shows the arrival of the Garhwalis and the British troops arranged in front of the Tinsmith's corner. The photograph also shows 5 armoured cars. The last one is probably the same from which smoke was issuing. The photo taken from a distance shows Mr. Isemonger, Inspector-General of Police, standing amongst the crowd in front of the Garhwalis. I actually saw him then in the same position when I was trying to arrange a compromise. In the photos none of the crowd appears to possess a stick, a lathi or an axe, and in fact they did not have any such weapons.

When I saw the Garhwalis arriving, their rifles were without bayonets but the rifles of the British troops had fixed bayonets. In this photo also the rifles of the Garhwalis are without bayonets. Before the Garhwalis' arrival, the British soldiers stood in a line on one side, i.e. on the side of the Tinsmith's Bazar. And on the other side, i.e. on the side of Dhaki Nalbandi there were standing some policemen, and Mr. Isemonger was standing on the same side. In this picture, Ex. U, too, Mr. Isemonger is standing on the same side. But in the place where the police stood Mr. Garber is standing. Mr. Garber arrived in my presence. The first balcony in Ex. T on which a board is fixed and on the back of which a poster of some cigrette Company is pasted, belongs to Mr. Radha Kishan, Vakil, President, City Congress Committee and Vice-President, Provincial Congress Committee. Mr. Radha Kishan is under arrest. In this picture, Ex. U the board which is seen hanging is of Omania Press which is situated in Dhaki Nalbandi; it was previously known as Shariffi Press. The motor car which is seen standing near the first armoured car in Ex. U in front of which Garhwalis are standing, is a Fire Brigade Engine which was requisitioned for extinguishing the fire in the armoured car. I had conveyed the message of Agha Syed Lal Badshah and Khan Ali Gul Khan to the people by standing upon this Fire Brigade Engine and exhorted them to remain non-violent to the bitter end. I had told him and others about this Fire Brigade Engine, that if the dispersal of the mob was absolutely necessary, then this Fire Brigade Engine should be made use of for throwing water on the people. I have been told that the Government has put forward this excuse that water could not be thrown as the mob had cut off one hose. But if the mob had cut off one hose, there were others which could have been worked. So the pretext that water could not be thrown is baseless and unfounded. I had a talk with Mr. Humphrey, Superintendent of Police on 31-5-30 at 6-30 p.m. near the railings of the Hastings Memorial, when he made the above excuse on behalf of the Government, for not throwing water. He was at that time accompanied by Lt. Bramley, one Sub-Inspector and a European officer of the Sikh regiment. After a short time Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal joined us. I was returning from the hospital after seeing the wounded, when Pandit Bamwal accosted me and began to discuss with me the incidents of that morning. During the con-

versation I blamed them and told them plainly that if they had acted according to my advice, lives of many innocent persons would have been saved. At that time they put forward the excuse about the hose having been cut and their consequent inability to throw water on the crowd and in reply I refuted their argument as already stated. On 23-4-30 when I first suggested to the authorities to disperse the crowd by throwing water on them, the above excuse was not made at the time but on the other hand they said that they had made arrangements and would act accordingly. On 8-5-30 a poster was issued by the Deputy Commissioner that the citizens should celebrate the Id festival as usual and that all ceremonies connected with the festival should be duly performed. Up to that day the people used to return to their houses before sunset. In that poster it was announced that the bazars would remain open on the Id day till 10 p.m. But as the people were in mourning, they did not celebrate the Id festival. The Mela (fair) that used to be held in the city was not held and the fairs that used to be held after two or three days outside the city, were also not held. The people did not go to say their prayers in the Idgah as usual they said their prayers in the Mosques of the city. Some people from villages had come that day, all the residents wore black badges on their coats and shirts. Hindus and Mohammadans alike wore these black badges for mourning. On the 19th May 1930, when that Memorial which was erected in memory of the murdered, was pulled down, black mourning flags were hoisted on the pricipal Mosques situated in the bazars to express grief. This thing was done by the people who were residing close to these mosques and the bazars were also closed on that day and there was a complete Hartal. On the 4th May 1930 when the Congress Committee and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha were declared to be unlawful assemblies, the British regiments occupied both those offices, and when I left Peshawar on 1st June 1930, both those offices were still in the occupation of the police, although these offices are neither the property of the Congress Committee nor that of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. They are private property. I was not present there, when the people were first crushed under armoured cars or when shots were fired first. But when I arrived at the spot, I found the crowd near the Police station of the Kabuli Gate. When the armoured cars had crushed the people and when the shots had been fired upon the crowd, the people began to move hither and thither. They were then pushed to that place which is shown in photographs Ex. U when I reached there, the crowd was still at the place.

Fire was opened for the second time from this place according to my information. After 19th May 1930, special attention was directed towards Karimpura. The Bazar was kept closed for 3 days from 23rd to 25th May, and military pickets were posted and no one was allowed to go about in the bazar. On 25-4-30,

when I came to the bazar in the morning, I saw people collected near the Pucca Bridge. The people were expressing sorrow and were saying that passersby had been killed there. At three places there were 3 spots of blood on the ground. A larger quantity of blood appeared towards the Iron merchants shops and on the other side a little appeared in front of the shop of Mian Abdul Hakim, general merchant, and a bit more furtheron. This is the plan where there was a quarrel between me and Mr. Hale Assistant Superintendent of Police as a result of which he was transferred.

3-6-30 (Sd.) ABDUL JALIL

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL.

56

The statement of Ram Chand, son of Mukha Singh, Rajput, occupation motor-driver, age 20, residence Bijnor, at present residing at Peshawar

I originally belong to Bijnor. I have resided at Peshawar Cantonment since a long time. I am neither a member nor a volunteer of the Congress. I am a motor driver. I reached Kissa Khani at about 10-15 in search of my master. I saw that the police was taking two leaders after arrest, to the police station. Many people were accompanying them. I also accompanied them. After a short while the leaders entered the police station. After that a police party arrived there with their officers and stopped near a water tap inside the Kabuli Gate. About half an hour or three-quarters of an hour after that machine guns arrived. They came at a great speed and did not blow the horn. The people cried that machine guns had arrived. Those people who were inside or outside the gate and were nearby went inside but as to those who were standing at some distance from the gate, the armoured cars ran over them. I cannot say how many persons were wounded and killed. As a consequence people raised a hue and cry. The people began to move hither and thither. I also tried to run out from the gate, and I had hardly reached the gate when I was also shot at. I think the bullets were shot from above. Two shots struck my leg but I still tried to run. When I reached near the gate, I fell down and I received another bullet wound on the upper portion of my thigh. When the people were looking after me, I received another bullet on my left shoulder and on the back portion of it.

The people wanted to take me on one side when all of a sudden another armoured car came without giving any warning at a very high speed which passed over the lower portion of my stomach and one of the persons who was looking after me was trampled

under the car and died there and then two persons had their legs broken. I had hardly changed my side when another car passed on my back. I became senseless. When I regained my senses then I found myself on the platform of a shop and I saw that the British soldiers were putting the dead bodies into the lorries and were washing the roads, I became unconscious again. After the expiry of five days when I regained my senses I saw myself in the hospital. I saw a Motor cycle also after the first car had passed, which was following the first car at a high speed and one Englishman was riding it. I received a note to appear as a witness before the Sulaiman Committee from the Government. I produce the same. I refused to take the "parvana" (notice) as I did not like to give evidence before the official committee but the Government servant handed the same forcibly. I desired to give evidence here. Every kind of temptation was offered to me from the official side. As I know that people who used to get salaries worth thousands of rupees have left their service for the sake of the Country and Nation, consequently no useful purpose would be served by my getting money, hence I refused the offer. I was also intimidated and was asked to give up my sympathies with the Congress but I did not hear them and I have reached here in a condition when I can neither stand nor sit. My bones hurt me when I lie down and I am not a wealthy man that I should be able to manage my affairs. I am appearing before this Committee in this condition. Out of the two persons on whose legs the car passed one has died in the hospital and one is still lying wounded. I have come out of the hospital only to-day after taking leave. In the hospital there are twelve previously wounded persons and twelve have reached here now. The latter have been wounded on 31st May 1930. People said that there were more wounded persons at the house of Doctor Khan Sahib.

To the Chairman:—Ex. S. is the "parvana" which came to me from the Secretary, Suleman Committee for giving evidence before the same. I received four bullet wounds, two on the knees, one on the back portion of the shoulder and one on the abdomen.

Q. Where did the armoured car pass?

A. The armoured car passed on the lower portion of my belly and when I tried to turn in order to save myself and I had turned my leg, another armoured car passed on my back on account of which my bones were smashed.

I was not treated because they said that I would die within one or two days as the lower portion of my body had separated. They said "How can he remain alive?" After five days my photo was taken and the fractured bones were set. The bandage was on for one month. Four or five days ago the bandage was removed. I cannot walk at this time. I cannot sit. I cannot stand. My

bones are all smashed. They pain when I lie down. I was brought here by Beli Ram. I am sent here by the pleaders.

Q. Can you point out where you received the bullet wounds?

A. Yes I can show.

(At this the witness showed two bullet wounds on the knees and one on the right abdomen and one on the lower portion of the shoulder.)

2-6-30 (Sd.) RAMCHAND

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

Note:—The witness was laid on a charpai with difficulty and he was visibly suffering from great physical pain.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

57

The Statement of Beli Ram, son of Lal Chand Khatri, occupation shop-keeper, age 27, residence Peshawar

On 23rd April 1930 at about 3-30 p.m. I went to the Clock Tower for getting ice for my shop which is situated far from Kissa Khani Bazar. I could not get ice on account of the shops being closed. When I was coming back on the way in the Chowk I was arrested by a European and was detained in the Committee where the British soldiers were on guard. They posted a guard with bayonet on me. After two hours I was conveyed to the Gorkhatri lock-up by a Sub-Inspector, and I was kept there for three days without food and water, after which time I used to get food from my house. I was kept in the lock-up for 14 days and on the seventeenth day I was examined by the efforts of my brother and other friends. I was released when my brother applied to the Deputy Commissioner for my release. The latter replied that he had forgotten all about it and that he was very busy. But I was released six days after that. At the time of my arrest I had told the Inspector of Police that my shop was open and there was nobody there and to have it closed but the Inspector paid no heed to it as a result of which I had suffered a great loss.

To the Chairman:—I have given the written statement. I have brought Ram Chand from Peshawar. The Sewa Samiti people told me to come here and bring him. I brought him from Peshawar to Nowshera by lorry and from there to Rawalpindi by train. They arranged for the lorry. On the way Ram Chand was in great physical pain. This caused me great mental suffering. On my return I shall have to face the same difficulty.

2-6-30 (Sd.) BELI RAM

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

58

The Statement of Mukarram Khan, son of Mir Dil Khan, Pathan, occupation Zamindari, age 27 years, residence Bannu

It is a long time since the Congress Committee was organised in Bannu, and has always been the follower of the creed of non-violence, but the Government has declared it an unlawful assembly. In different places in the villages Congress Committees have been organised and they are affiliated to Bannu Congress Committee. These Committees have been working continuously. I submit herewith a list of the places where Congress Committees were established and of which I am cognisant. Ever since 19th May, wherever a Congress meeting is held the police come and take notes of the proceedings and after 2 or 3 a.m., the police and Border Militia besiege the town and none is allowed to go outside; and at day break all the houses in the villages are searched and whosoever is even suspected of the least connection with the Congress, is arrested forthwith and sent to Bannu Jail. In the same way the whole village is besieged till 10 a.m., and none is allowed to go out to answer the call of nature, and or for Nimaz. The villages in which happenings of this nature have taken place are the following:—

a. Daood Shah; *b.* Babat Khel; *c.* Mohamad Khel; *d.* Mahsh Khel.

All these villages are in the Tahsil of Bannu. In the villages several families are without male members. Only women and children are left behind and they are deprived of the bare necessities of life. There is complete solidarity between Hindus and Musalmans. So much so that once in the village, by chance, a slight alteration arose between a Hindoo and a Muslim. When the people appealed in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity, in order to patch up the quarrel, the Mohammadan burst into tears and hugged his Hindu brother and for five or six minutes both of them wept like real brothers. The present Government is helpless against this strange weapon of unity. Sometimes they instigated the Muslims against the Hindus by remarking that the Government would be in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi and you would be under the yoke of non-Muslim Government, but this machination of the Government could not frustrate the Hindu-Muslim unity. On 23rd April responsible officers of the bureaucracy raided our office at 4 p.m. Ah! it was such a spectacle that the thought of it brings tears of blood to our eyes. Our principal leaders were severely belaboured and afterwards mercilessly dragged to Yousaf Manzal (Prison). The Congress office was strongly picketed by policemen

and the whole town was besieged. Of these incidents, I am an eye witness, I desire to narrate those oppressive happenings and the sufferings which have been inflicted upon me and the volunteers under me by the so-called civilized Government. On the morning of 23rd April, when the Congress office was raided my cousin Mallik Akbar Ali Khan Sahib who is unrivalled in valour and fearlessness ordered me and ten other volunteers to picket the liquor shops and directed us to continue picketing by remaining non-violent, and to lay down our lives, but never to give up picketing.

Though a siege was laid round the town, we, with great difficulty succeeded in getting into the interior of the city and began picketing in the morning the liquor shops. As the situation was growing menacing, we implored the shop-keepers to close the shops but they spurned our request. Immediately after we saw an English Police Superintendent followed by a Sub-Inspector and a cordon of policemen, armed with lathis, coming down upon us. They began beating most mercilessly. It was a veritable doomsday. They sometimes beat us on the sides, the front and sometimes the back. In short we were rendered helpless. After this the policemen having obtained the permission of the Superintendent began to tear our clothes and threatened us in the presence of thousands, but the volunteers were so adamant in their resolve that they did not give up picketing. My clothes were also torn and I received a beating. All of us were pledged to non-violence, all the shop-keepers closed their shops as a protest against the highhandedness of the authorities. The people having witnessed such brutalities of the officials were weeping profusely but none of them either assaulted or reviled the police. At this time the military blocked all the gates of the city although it was already besieged so that the people being unable to obtain grass for their animals may be compelled to open the shops. But the people continuously observed Hartal for six days during which period they never opened their shops. Malik Akbar Ali Khan before his arrest having seen the critical situation told his brother Mir Saraf Khan to cut shaftal (fodder grass) from his land which was 60 Kanal in circuit and to throw it inside the city over the walls, till the gates opened so that the animals might not starve to death. Thus they continued throwing grass into the city for six days. By such means the animals were rescued to some extent. Akbar Ali Khan who was not a Congressman was arrested, simply because of his sympathetic attitude and affording provisions to the animals. Bahadur Nawaz, the Captain of the Volunter corps, who is related to this family, whose ancestors were the Kings of Bannu in the past, was deprived of his clothes and made to stand naked. The people shed tears on seeing this tragic sight. A man who was standing at a distance threw his sheet to cover his naked body and another man also

threw his sheet with which the Captain Sahab covered his person. It must always be remembered that the Pathans prefer death to dishonour. But now they are so hypnotized by the magic of non-violence, that they are tolerating such gross atrocities of the officials and are still living. The Superintendent of Police and other Indian officers were watching these inhumanities. A volunteer, Adam Khan by name was given a shower of lathi blows by the police because he had shouted 'Long Live Revolution." He fell down senseless and the "kind" police took him to the hospital where he remained senseless till morning. The volunteers in spite of their best efforts to see him were prevented by the police. In spite of the above-mentioned atrocities our brave volunteers equipped with the shield of non-violence and the sword of liquor shop picketing have come out into the field of success, to fight this cruel and barbarous Government. Picketing still continues. The tale of Gevernment atrocities is a long one. I have stated some important matters only very briefly.

2-6-30 (Sd.) MUKARRAM KHAN

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

59

The statement of Abdul Ghafoor, son of Halim Khan, age 19, student, caste Akhwnd Khel, village Utmanzai, Tahsil Charsada, District Peshawar

After the occurrence of 23rd April 1930 and arrests of the leaders, public meetings were held now and then in the villages of our Ilaqa. They always ended peacefully. The military surrounded our village at 3 a.m. on 13-5-30. The armed soldiers were posted on the outskirts of the village. At about one mile from the village a British battery was posted. The Khudai Khidmatgars collected in the office in the morning. I was as usual going to my school with my books. In order to go to school I had to pass by that road. The British soldiers and the Shia militia with their guns and bayonets were standing there. As the road was closed I stopped there for a while. In the meantime the Deputy Commissioner taking his British and Shia forces reached the balakhana of the office of the Khudai Khidmatgars and ordered them to throw down the badges of Khudai Khidmatgars, but his orders were disobeyed; and Khalik Razaq had his foot injured. Farid Gul son of Aziz Gul, also had his foot injured. Ghulam Mohammad son of Rafiq uddin received an injury on his hand. The son of Mian Sahib also received an injury on his hand Abdul Ghafur son of Ahmad Shah was injured on his head. Muhamad Hussain, son of Fazal Ah-

mad was killed by a British soldier by a bayonet thrust on his back. Izat's head was fractured. Nakib son of Mir Alim was also wounded. Mohammad Khan, son of Ajab Gul was also wounded on the head. Besides these, other Khudai Khidmatgars received ordinary injuries but I do not remember their names. The Deputy Commissioner burnt the office. The furniture and even Holy Koran was burnt. At this time like others I was quietly watching the heartrendering scene. I wanted that I should proceed further and go to school but a Shia attacked me with a bayonet and wounded me near the eye. After this I do not know what happened and people left me at my house. Twenty-five men were arrested. Even Marrof Mian Sahib's Mandi in the village was looted and they went away in batches. After this incident meetings, were held peacefully. After the siege of Takar in the whole vicinity of Charsada, the Government men in plain clothes and on horseback have been spreading the news that such and such place is besieged and that people have been humiliated and therefore you should run away to save yourselves and thus overawing and frightening and inducing the simple folk of the villages to run away. Yesterday on 1-6-30, as I and my companion Faiz Mohmad were coming here to give evidence we saw in the way that military was besieging Parang, Charsada and Kazi Khel preventing the people from coming on this side of Garhi Hamid Gul. There we had to stop under compulsion. The armoured cars and motor cars were patrolling between Tangi and Charsada. Now nothing is known to us as to what happened to them but we have heard that their leaders have been arrested.

Note:—The witness showed to the Committee his wound which was inflicted by a bayonet. This wound was above the eye.

2-6-30 (Sd.) Abdul Ghafoor

Read over to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

60

The statement of Srimati Goma Devi, mother of Mr. Nanak Chand, Bar-at-Law, caste Mehra, Mohalla Bakhshi Ram Saheb Karimpura, Peshawar City

From 19th to 21st May 1930, the English soldiers in rows have been patrolling the city area from the Clock Tower to Jhanda Bazar to terrify the people. Neither women nor men could go out of this area. We have been patiently suffering the following:—

1. The sweepers could not come and the houses remained uncleaned.

2. Water carriers could not bring water, so we had to remain thirsty.

3. Maid servants could not come to clean cooking utensils.

4. None could go out for shopping. Those widows who used to work for others and thus earn their livelihood could not go out and lost their daily wages. Many lonely widows starved and so did their children.

5. We used to go out to Sudder Bazar towards Rampura by way of L. Mul Chand's house who is our neighbour. The English soldiers used to stone us and point at us their rifles in order to terrify us. They used to shout something in English and seemed to be very angry.

6. Gulsaran, a pan and cigarette shopkeeper outside the Bakhshi Mohalla was closing his shop. At this time some English soldiers came and caught hold of him. Some of them took away all that his shop contained and left him there after having beaten him. The shopkeeper went away from there in the same condition. Afterwards we heard that the shopkeeper went to the officer of the soldiers and reported. But the English officer instead of hearing him and doing him justice beat him and turned him out.

2-6-30 (Sd.) Goman Devi (in Gurmukhi)

Read out to the witness and signed by her in the presence of the Committee.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

61

The statement of Faiz Mohamad, son of Sher Mohamad tribe Shamozai, residence Utmanzai, Tahsil Charsada, District Peshawar, occupation Zamindari, at present a Khudai Khidmatgar

On the arrest of our respectable leaders on 23rd April peaceful meetings were held at different places on different occasions. In these meetings the Khudai Khidmatgars in particular and the people in general were advised to remain non-violent, to wear Khaddar and to abstain from mutual strifes. We always dispersed peacefully at the end of the meetings.

On 13th May 1930 I was present in the office of the Khudai Khidmatgars, Utmanzai. At about 3 a.m. our village was besieged on all sides by the armed soldiers. At about 5 a.m. the Deputy Commissioner along with British and Shia soldiers came near the office of the Khudai Khadmatgars. Immediately on his arrival he ordered the Khudai Khidmatgars to come down from the office. We were about to come down when he came up to the office accompanied by Shia soldiers (the Sikh and

Muslim soldiers did not say anything to us) and began to beat us. Our uniforms were taken off and burnt, and we were thrown down from the balcony. He set his pistol against the breast of Naqib and ordered him to take off his uniform. They beat us with bayonets and lathis and butt-ends I received a bayonet wound from a British soldier. The wound is still there. Besides this Khanrazaq Fazal Razaq and Farid Gul fractured their legs when they were hurled down from above; Ghulam Mohamad and Maghfoor Shah fractured their hands; Abdul Ghafur son of Ahmad Shah and Abdul Hakim and Azmat Khan broke their heads. Four teeth of Warris were broken by the butt-end of rifle and Mohammad Hussain, Khanzada, Rayud Naqib Khan also had their limbs fractured. After this they set fire to the office and besides other things, one Quran Shariff was also entirely burnt and another was saved by a Sikh soldier. The village was given over to the army and many persons, I being one of them, were put into the Charsada lock-up. After four days 17 persons were released and the remaining four were taken to Peshawar. Even after this event we continued holding meetings which were always peaceful.

After the fire the village folks were ordered to surrender their guns which they did to the Deputy Commissioner. The mounted soldiers move about in our villages and inflict every sort of cruelty upon the people. Some are ordered to bring food some grass and others grain. Not only this but they beat too and harass the people. Yesterday while we were coming to give evidence here the army checked us from coming near Hamid Gul Garhi. It was said that Parang, Charsada and Qazi Khel and Baber had been besieged. We returned perforce. We saw cavalry and armoured cars patrolling the roads. I do not know more about the seige. This much, of course, is known that some leading men had been arrested. When we become Khudai Khidmatgars we swear, to remain non-violent, upon the Holy Quran.

Note:—The statement of the witness was read out to him by Abdul Gaffar and translated to him in Pushtu. The witness admitted it to be correct. He had put his thumb impression upon it.

The witness showed a bayonet wound to the Committee. This wound is above his right eye. The scar is still there.

(*Thumb impression*)

FAIZ MOHAMMAD, son of Sher Mohammad

2-6-30 Resident Utmanzai

The witness does not know Urdu. The statement was therefore, explained to him in pushtu his own vernacular. He has put his thumb impression in the presence of the Committee.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

62

The statement of Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal, occupation Journalist, former representative of the Associated Press of India, Peshawar

On 23rd April 1930, I was awakened by Sayad Qasam Jan from sleep at 4 a.m. and he told me of the arrest of Lala Paira Khan, and that Khan Ali Gul Khan's house had been surrounded by policemen. About 7 in the morning Ghulam Rabbani, and Mian Allah Bux Barqi who were accompanying the procession, while passing by my house, knocked at the door, and said "The others have been arrested, and we also had offered ourselves for arrest but the policemen who had our warrants were not there, and therefore after visiting the picketers at liquor shops we went to the Congress office." They asked me to accompany them to the Congress office, and when I reached the Congress office, I saw people assembled there in large numbers, and the people had observed hartal of their own accord. I remained till 9 in the Congress office. Ghulam Rabbani exhorted the people from above the Congress office to remain non-violent and to popularise khaddar, and harangued them that if they had any sympathy with them they could only express it by carrying out the Congress programme. On my way to the Congress office, I visited the picketers at the liquor shops, and went to see Mr. Abdul Rab Khan Nishtar. He met me in the Court. I heard there that fire had been opened in the city. I entered the city at about 11 a.m. As a correspondent of the Associated Press I enquired about all those incidents which I learnt from reliable sources and wrote out a message to send it telegraphically. I visited every place of occurrence, so that I might personally see the place, and verify the facts. I saw the Military as well as the crowd assembled there. The crowd was absolutely unarmed, and none of them had even a stick in his hand, and the crowd was entirely peaceful. I sent a telegram from the city telegraph office on my return. A friend of mine who was following me, compelled me to go home, which I did. I startd from my house at 5 p.m. and proceeded towards Clock Tower, and saw members of the Sewa Samiti carrying three dead bodies towards the Congress office. The soldiers did not allow me to go further. I went to the Congress office en route Basat Gul Hussain, in order to find out who the dead persons were. At that time Mr. Fox, the Superintendent of Police, Captain Cobb, Assistant Commissioner, Peshawar, and one Colonel with a few British soldiers, stood before the Congress office. Some one exclaimed that the British soldiers had come, and all the people stood up in the verandah. I was also with them. Captain Cobb, the Assistant Commissioner having seen me, called me, and informed me that the notification issued by the Chief Commissioner enjoined upon

them to take possession of all the Khilafat flags and badges. I replied that it was the Congress office, and not the Khilafat office. He asked me to remove and throw them down. I replied, "I am not a responsible office-bearer of the Congress, I have only come here as a correspondent. He called me down, and Captain Cobb asked me to get all of them down, but I replied that he himself could get them down. At this he sent two men upstairs and inquired from me whether the people would not fight with them and I replied that no fight would take place. A Colonel also asked me to hand down the flag, but I replied that I was a Correspondent. He did not heed my words, and dealt me three blows with his fist and when I fell at a distance due to these blows he gave me a kick.

The Constables went upstairs and took off all the badges and the flags. Mr. Fox ordered some British soldiers to keep a watch over me. He himself went in and arrested all those who were near the dead bodies and made them over to the British soldiers. Many of these people were scouts in uniforms and some of them were relatives of one of the deceased. We were all taken to Gorkhatri. We were guarded by soldiers armed with bayonets. Reaching Gorkhatri I again said that I was a newspaper representative and not to blame. He got all other arrested people seated separately and called me and enquired of me who the persons in uniforms were. I informed him that they were members of the Seva Samiti and had gone to carry away the dead bodies. He also enquired from me why they were wearing uniforms. I replied because they might be distinguished from others. Mr. Fox took me along with him and ordered the police to keep a watch over the arrested persons. On the way he told me that he had learnt that those people would take out a procession of the dead bodies. I said that Seva Samiti was a Social workers society. It had no connection with politics. He told me that if he was assured that no procession would be taken out, he would hand over the dead bodies and would also release the arrested persons. After this Mr. Fox instructed the City Inspector, Arbab Mohammed Hayat Khan to release the arrested people if he found no mischief-monger amongst them. He himself along with Arbab Mohammed Hayat Khan and myself started towards Gorkhatri. On arrival there all were released. I found that Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi was present there.

The Military was withdrawn on the night between 24th and 25th. The police was also withdrawn on 25th. Realising that the city was in danger the Congress volunteers kept watch and ward and performed all the duties of the police. No incident occurred during their management and it was the result of their good arrangement. I learnt on the morning of 4th May that military had poured into the city and that traffic in the bazars was stopped. At 8 o'clock I saw some people coming from the

side of the Clock Tower and they were being mercilessly beaten by the British soldiers with butt-ends of rifles. When they arrived near my house I found them to be Congress volunteers, some of them were semi-conscious and some were bleeding. Dr. Piarelal was dressing their injuries. The British soldiers came up to my house and when the people assembled near my house they were beaten. I myself saw all this. From 4th May up to 6th or 7th May this state of affairs went on. On 24th April when I went to the Telegraph office to send a telegram and when I came out of the office after sending the telegram, I saw British soldiers playing cards outside. One of them struck me with the butt-end of his rifle and said "Go on you Nimak-wala" (Salt man).

On 31st May when I came to know that two children and one woman were murdered in Kissa Khani Bazar, I went there. Hakim Abdul Jalil and Haji Abdul Rahim were exhorting the people to remain calm and peaceful. I went to Haji Abdul Rahim a Khilafat leader's residence accompanied by Mr. Abdul Rab Khan Nishtar. There I saw Sikh troops beating the people to force them to disperse. Then I went to the hospital and stayed there for sometime to see the wounded. After leaving the hospital I came to know that a funeral procession was coming from Gorkhatri side. I proceeded towards the procession and on pakka bridge was informed by the people coming from the front that firing had started. It was near Ghanta Ghar that I came to know that Hakim Abdul Jalil was also wounded. I went to the spot with great haste and saw corpses being taken from the mosque to Doctor Khan Sahib's dispensary. I also proceeded in that direction. I think the atrocities committed at Peshawar are far more horrible than those committed by Nero and in my opinion the best way to safety lies in changing the present system of administration as early as possible.

To the Chairman:—There was a time when I took active part in Congress politics.

Q. Since when have you stopped taking part in Congress work?

A. I have slackened my activities for the last two years. I am a member of the City Congress Committee. I have been a representative of the Associated Press of India for one year and a half upto 15-5-30. Owing to indifferent health I have resigned from the Associated Press of India. It is not forbidden for a man to be at one and the same time a member of the Congress and a representative of the Associated Press of India. I know that the representatives of the Associated Press of India are suspected by the people to be connected with the Government the cause being that the Associated Press of India is regarded as a semi-Government Agency.

Q. Can you say the news which you sent from Peshawar from 23-4-30 to 15-5-30, was all published in the newspapers?

A. No. Most of the telegrams were detained. The telegrams which I sent were either detained or a portion of them deleted, or entirely distorted. I sent news almost daily. Only one or two telegrams which I sent by post were published fully without any alteration etc. These two telegrams were sent by post only to Lahore and Simla in obedience to instructions received during the last week of my service that, owing to rigorous Censorship, the telegrams often reached several days too late and sometimes never reached at all and as Peshawar had excited great interest the copies of the telegrams should also be sent by post to Simla and Lahore.

The telegrams, copies of which, were sent by me by post were published in full. The first telegram relating to the happenings of 23rd was sent by me at 11-30 a.m. on the 23rd. That telegram reached the papers three days later. When I read it in the papers, I found it to have been censored and certain portions had been expunged. I had not given details in this telegram as I desired the news to reach the papers at once.

The published telegram was not according to the original manuscript so far as it related to the Armoured Car. A portion was mutilated. In that telegram I had mentioned that people had been run over by an armoured car and a large number had been killed and wounded by firing. The number was not mentioned as till then I did not know the exact number. In that part the fact of people having been run over by the Armoured Cars has not been published. I also drafted another telegram on that day and tried to send it to the Telegrah office by another man who was a Government servant and had a pass. He was stopped at the gate by the troops. He destroyed the telegram to avoid the consequences of the telegram being discovered in his possession in case of arrest which might have resulted in harm to him as a Government servant. He himself told me all about it four days later.

As I was satisfied that I had wired the accounts of the happenings on 23-4-30 known to me on that very day I did not send any further telegram on that day.

Again on the 24th and 25th of April 1930, I went on sending daily one or two telegrams, which were not being published. My business was to wire messages from the telegrah office. I only came to know after reading newspapers what portions of my telegram were published and what not. There was strict censorship in Peshawar and it still exists. I also observed that my telegrams were mostly detained but not those of other correspondents. By other correspondents, I mean correspondents of Civil and Military Gazette, Pioneer, Times of India and

others. All these are Anglo-Indian papers. I also came to know that the correspondents of these papers drafted the telegrams only after having consulted the officials and sent them to the Telegraph office for transmission where they were passed by the officials. That was the reason why their messages were published while mine were detained.

When my officials in the Head office called for explanation from me I wrote them in reply that my telegrams were detained owing to strict censorship. I used to send messages regularly. Thereupon, the head office sent their representative to Peshawar to inquire into the matter. He stopped at Peshawar only for two days. He saw different Government officers and complained to them that our telegrams were detained and we were being defeated in competition with other correspondents. After these interviews with the officials, he instructed me to draft my telegrams with a little tact, that is, I should not mention anything in my telegrams which might enrage the officials. He also instructed me not to send false news. My attitude remained the same even after that, as I was already very careful in that respect, and I always sent correct news because I had instructions to do so. I was also instructed to send news only and not to make comments. I followed this principle throughout my service with the Associated Press of India. I have given my statement. In Peshawar the officials always desire that the true news about the atrocities perpetrated by them in the city and the District should never reach the outside world. I also came to know that the authorities called the representative of the Civil and Military Gazette in Peshawar and made him carry on propaganda according to their own desire. They also tried to prevent news regarding the prisoners of Bala Hissar from going outside the Frontier. I as a representative of the Associated Press of India wrote a letter tc the Deputy Commissioner on 8-5-30 and asked for facilities and permission to get a report of the cases and to go inside the fort. After eleven days I received a reply from the Deputy Commissioner that there was no more accommodation for me. I disassociated myself from the Congress on the day the Simon Commission came to Peshawar and the separate Frontier Provincial Committee was formed independent of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. The reason was that I was convinced that the Congress work in the Frontier would be better done by remaining affiliated to the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. Besides myself the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner had authority to send telegrams. This gave facility to the authorities to transmit news. My duties consisted in sending news about Afghanistan, about the general public and sport, etc.

As the authorities could send whatever news they wanted,

they sent news to the head-quarters at Simla. The news was published in the papers purporting to have emanated from the Associated Press of India. A lot of news which was obtained from the Government offices at Simla by the foreign office was published as having come from Peshawar and not having been taken from Simla and that is why the public expressed their suspicions about me. On account of this there might be a misunderstanding in the public that the news was official news and that it was sent by the representatives of the Associated Press of India. Because of this there was a misunderstanding in the people that I was sending false news and because the public did not like this sort of news it suspected me.

(*Note*—The witness was shown two copies of photographs and he stated that he had seen such photographs in Peshawar) when I reached Kissa Khani the state of things at the place of occurrence was the same as appearing in the photographs. People who appear as standing in the photographs had nothing with them, sticks, axes or any other weapon in their hands. At the time I saw these people they had no weapons or any thing of that kind in their hands. The soldiers had rifles with bayonets fixed which were pointing towards the people. These photographs are exhibits T and U. I also saw such photographs but they were taken by a patient. I know these photographs were taken by Brij Lal, photographer.

3-6-30 (Sd.) A. C. Bamwal

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

63

The statement of Doctor Dina Nath, son of Ram Chand, age 38 years, occupation Doctor, Rawalpindi

Q. Did you with two other Doctors at the request of the Committee examine Ram Chand who appeared here as a witness yesterday?

A. Yes. The other two Doctors were Doctor Bindra and Doctor Jagat Ram. We found injuries on the body of Ram Chand as we have stated in the report (Ex. V.) I think that he will remain disabled to a certain extent. He is in very great pain. His legs are partly paralysed. He can neither stand, nor sit. He cannot walk. He will not be able to follow his occupation of motor driving for the rest of his life.

3-6-30 (Sd.) Dina Nath

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

64

The statement of Hafiz Ghulam Mir Abdur Karim Qureshi, son of Haji Ghulam Ghous, age 31 years, Merchant, residence Peshawar

On the morning of 23rd April 1930 I was coming out of the mosque in our Mohalla after saying my prayers when I met comrade Ghulam Rabbani and comrade Allah Bux Barqi. They were going towards the Congress office. During the previous night several arrests had been made and their impression was that warrants for their own arrests had also been issued. In case their information was correct they wanted to surrender themselves for arrest to the police. I accompanied them to the Congress office where comrade Khan Mir was already sitting. As the news of the arrests of the previous night had spread throughout the town and the people had voluntarily observed hartal as a protest, people were thronging near the Congress office to enquire about those who had actually been arrested and those whose arrests were imminent. News was received in the Congress office that a big crowd was assembling in the maidan of Sarbanan Masjid. The police was also present there as the arrest of Syad Lal Bad Shah was apprehended. Because his house is in the immediate vicinity of the mosque comrades Khan Mir and Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux Barqi came out of the office and proceeded towards the mosque. I accompanied them. On reaching our distination we joined a big crowd assembled there. The police was also present. The crowd was quite calm and absolutely peaceful. They were anxious to find out whether Agha Sahib had been arrested or not. Comrade Khan Mir, Ghulam Rabbani and Moulana Abdul Hakim who had arrived at the spot, began to make speeches and inform the people that even if they themselves were arrested it was their duty to adhere to the principles of non-violence and to carry on the Congress propaganda calmly and in a non-violent manner. In the mean time Syed Lal Bad Shah came on the scene and all these four leaders proceeded together towards the Kissa Khani Bazar. When they reached the corner of bazar Misgran we found a big crowd assembled there. Khan Mir made a speech there and exhorted the people to remain absolutely non-violent and to carry on the Congress work. Before he had finished his speech a police officer with police force arrived there in a lorry. He showed the warrant of his arrest to Khan Mir and arrested him. After finishing his speech Khan Mir surrendered himself and accompanied the police officer who wanted to follow them. Being asked by Agha Lal Bad Shah to desist from doing so they did not proceed.

Meanwhile another Police officer came with a police detachment and after arresting Agha Sahib proceeded towards the thana. The crowd proceeded amidst cries of "long live Agha Bad Shah". On reaching the thana, Agha Bad Shah stood up before the thana gate and exhorted the people to remain absolutely non-violent and to continue the Congress work and further requested the people to disperse peacefully. Agha Mir Bad Shah entered the thana thereafter and the crowd in obedience to his advice dispersed peacefully within 15 to 20 minutes. Comrades Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bux Barqi also wanted to surrender themselves for arrest, but the police at A Division told them that the latter did not possess their warrants. Therefore they came to the Congress office and I accompanied them. At about 9 a.m. police appeared in the lorries, arrested them both and took them away in a lorry. The lorry proceeded at a slow speed because of the large crowd. The lorry got punctured at the Chowk Yadgar and the leaders under police custody walked towards A Division Police Thana. The crowd followed the police perfectly peacefully as before. On the way a person entrusted to me, Mohammad Iqbal, son of Ghulam Rabbani, aged about four years lest he should be crushed in the crowd and asked me to let him see his father. The crowd being large I could not go up to Ghulam Rabbani. Reaching Thana we found the doors of the thana closed. The people collected peacefully as before at the platform of the thana and in the road. Ghulam Rabbani exhorted the people to remain non-violent in accordance with the Congress creed and at the opening of the wicket gate of the thana he entered. The people began to disperse on his entering into the thana. In the meantime an Englishman rode recklessly in and at once rode back, looking very furious. After a short time the armoured cars arrived. I did not hear the horn being sounded and they entered at such a reckless speed that many persons were crushed under them. The people shouted "we are crushed, we are killed." As I had the son of Ghulam Rabbani with me for whose safety I had made myself responsible I went away taking him with me to his house. When I reached Chowk Reshemgiran by the way of Dhakki Nalbundi I saw people coming with dead bodies from the direction of Kabuli Gate.

In the evening when I went to the pakka Pul I saw the military at the Memorial Chowk and the crowd at Pukka Bridge. The military wanted to go towards Gorkhatri and the people were asking for the dead bodies of the martyrs about which it was rumoured that having been packed in lorries and cars they had been sent away to some unknown place. The crowd was so peaceful that if they had got dead bodies, they would have dispersed in spite of their having been fired at. As the attitude of the military was most violent they paid no attention to the crowd. The crowd bared their chests and stated that they would prefer to be

shot down but they would not leave the martyrs. Thus the troops advanced committing violence. The city remained in the possession of the military on the 24th April. On the morning of the 25th I went to Pukka Pul and saw considerable blood at two places. It is said that men returning from Latifi's Mela were fired at at night and their dead bodies removed to some unknown place. Such marks were also present in the Bater Bazar. On the 25th and the 26th the military and the police deserted the city completely, so much so that even the gates of the city were closed by the volunteers. On the evening of the 25th April it was rumoured that this was done to have the city plundered. On the 25th morning meetings were held as usual. The people were exhorted to remain non-violent and prayers offered for the martyrs. We commenced preparing a list of the martyrs and making other necessary enquiries.

Those names which appeared in the paper 'Sarhad' dated 29th April 1930, are entered in bulletin No. 10, except for the fact that two persons whose names were unknown and who were strangers, were mentioned twice in the 'Sarhad' on the 25th of April 1930. The Congress Committee appointed six batches whose duty it was to investigate in their respective wards the number of dead, wounded and missing and to submit a report to the Congress. I produce a list of the reports submitted by the batches. I produce five of them, I was in charge of one batch. One is not with me. When we went to prepare the report we explained the difficulties. We prepared a brief report which I have just produced besides several other reports and details of the reports above-mentioned were in the office which the police took away. Some were entered in the register which the police has taken away. I produce nineteen ruqas which besides the reports by the batches, other people and workers had found. From these reports and ruqas was prepared bulletin No. 10. And the list which was prepared by me was for preparing a new bulletin. I prepared a new one which was very different to the bulletin No. 10, the list of wounded and missing was given separately. These papers which I produce remained with me, for after publishing bulletin No. 10, the names contained therein were to be entered up in the subsequent reports and the number of missing were to be investigated.

On the 4th May when we assembled the military had taken complete control of the city. A person of one locality could not go to another. Karimpura Bazar was not guarded. I learnt at 11 a.m. that Congress volunteers who were wounded were brought to my house. I therefore came home immediately. I saw that about 40 volunteers were there of whom some were in a serious condition. After dressing them they were taken to their respective homes towards the evening on the 6th May the control was a bit relaxed, but the military still patrolled the city

and people were beaten for no cause whatsoever and this state of things went on for several days so much so that one day when I along with my friend Ghulam Mustafa was standing in a lane of my Mohalla when a patrolling party passed by. One of their officers on seeing us ran after us and we entered into the residential female quarters of Ghulam Mustafa. He followed us to the female apartment and struck my friend Ghulam Mustafa, with danda and took his spectacles away. So many incidents took place. People were being very much oppressed and are oppressed even now. On the 19th May Karimpura was being patrolled by the military. Besides, parties of British soldiers entered the thoroughfares and blind streets and attacked the people. In Koocha Malik Shahdad where I live, British soldiers entered one day hammer in hand, chained the doors of houses from outside and crushed them in such a way that they might not be capable of being unchained, similarly other acts continued, so much so, that it became very difficult for a man to go out, what to say of women and children. Even now, there is such repression in the city by the authorities that no man with self-respect can possibly bear such humiliation and degrading insults as are heaped on the people by the troops. If there had not been pressing circumstances, I would have left the city long ago.

No citizen, at any time regards his life, property, honour, family and children as safe, since a British soldier's rifle had made a mother with two innocent children its target. Even funerals are not immune from bullets. A passerby while passing in front of the Balahissar was fired at without any reason which singed his hair and cap. The list I have now produced contains 179 names, out of which the reports about 137, I have hereby produced.

Ex. W. is that list from which the bulletin which is Ex. F. was prepared. This list is original. The list which is Ex.W.1. refers to the appointment of the batches of volunteers, and the reports submitted by these batches which are five in number and in which 85 names have been recorded. In Ex. W|1, in reality the appointment of six batches has been recorded, but the report of the sixth batch after having been recorded in the register, was filed and kept in the office I do not remember the number of entries made in the list. It is Ex. W. 2 Ex. W. 3 nineteen ruqas. In them were recorded the reports given by the people, by some of the volunteers, and the Congress workers. These 19 ruqas contain 52 names. The remaining 42 names, which had been entered in the register were filed. The report which was made in the register was based upon ruqas and the list of the sixth batch. As I have stated above, these have been taken away together with our things by the Government.

on 4th May 1930 when they raided the office. From these sources and information the casualties came to 49 persons, including the wounded, the dead and the missing. The Bulletin No. 10 was prepared from this information. These 42 names have been entered by me. I used to hand over the ruqas to the Secretary of Congress after recording them in the register. As usual, I after having entered the list of the six batches in the register, handed over to the Secretary, and the remaining ruqas which are W|2 and W|3 were to be recorded in the register by me, and for this reason they remained with me, and the other reason of their being with me was that further investigation of the names and the number of the missing was absolutely necessary for the publication of the bulletin and I came to know more missing persons by further enquiries and we intended to publish the names of the wounded and missing in the next issue of the bulletin, which had come to our knowledge in the course of the further investigation, but we could not publish it because the authorities raided the office on 4-5-30, and took away all that was in the possession of the Congress office. These exhibits which I have presented, were left with me. After this the oppression of the Government reached such a climax that our lives were imperilled and no enquiries were made. We do not know what actually happened to those who are shown as missing from 179 persons, but as we have not been able to know anything of their fate, we have treated them as persons who are dead. They have certainly been put to death. I cannot vouch for the fact, whether any one from the wounded died or not. None from the list of the dead is found to be alive. The report of the 179 persons is the result of the enquiries till 30-4-30. The reports and the ruqas which came in were sent to the office and the police have taken them away in their raid of 4-5-30. The task of preparing bulletins was enjoined on me, and I had them printed in the Imamia Press. Most probably I drafted declaration No. 10 and the one preceding it was prepared by me. I was making preparation for the draft of the third bulletin and the secretary was about to provide me with the reports and ruqas for the publication of the third bulletin before the raid. In declaration No 10 Ex. F. it is stated that the enquiry is going on and the report of the 179 persons cannot be considered complete. As stated before, these reports were the result of the enquiries conducted till 30-4-30. The enquiries were in progress and we were to publish the third manifesto, when the raid took place. I want to make it clear at this stage, that the number of the wounded, killed and missing in the first notification was much less than 179.

Ex. I was shown to the witness and he was asked whether the 60 names were included in his list of 179 men but the witness admitted that the name of Rehmat, was not included in their declaration No. 10, which was in Ex. I. Similarly, the

names of Illahi Bux, son of Fazal Ahmad and Dawood Shah merchant are not given in the Ex. F. and Ex. I. Ghulam Mohamad I suppose is Ghul Mohamad and is wrongly written, but his residence and father's name are the same. The man, who is known as Pehalwan Gul in Ex. F has the same address. Ghulam Jan, son of Juma Khan, resident of Mohalla Shekhan has been shown as wounded. Mata Khan in Ex. I is really Mada Khan, residence is the same. Father's name in both cases, is unknown. Abdul Wahid Choudhri of Jhihira Pura in Ex. I is shown as Abdul Hid Choudhri resident Chauk Bazar in Ex. F. Chauk Bazar is the part of Jhihirpura. Both these names refer to the same person. It is believed that he is dead. Dad Gul in Ex. I is shown as Daud Gul in Ex. F. and in Ex. W. as Dat Gul the father's name is shown as unknown in both cases but the residence is the same. Three persons are mentioned in Ex. I who are not entered in Ex. F. I can only say that we did not get information about them. Hence their names are not entered. These might have gone to the Khilafat office. The same names have been entered thrice in that list of the dead, wounded and missing. Besides this there was no other bulletin. I wrote these because this work has been entrusted to me. The office of Naujawan Bharat Sabha is on the second storey of my shop. The shop and balakhana are on lease for five years. I use the shop myself and balakhana has been rented to Naujawan Bharat Sabha. The Police however, is in possession of the balakhana since 4-5-30.

3-6-30 (Sd.) Abdul Karim Qureshi

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

65

The statement of Fazal Akram Kakakhel, son of Mian Sahib, Haji Mohtadulla, occupation Zamindari age 33, residence Mialghari, Tehsil Mardan District Peshawar

On the 23rd April 1930, when national leaders were being arrested in Peshawar, Abdul Gaffar Khan along with his companions was also arrested. I was present there on that day. A great sensation prevailed among the people. When Abdul Ghaffar Khan Sahib was thrown into the prison at Charsada a mob of 60 or 70 thousand men surrounded the prison. The news of the massacre in Peshawar greatly excited the village folks. The idea of the mob was that as long as they were alive how was it possible that their leaders should be taken prisoners but our association and volunteers were able to control the situation and they explained the principle of non-violence to the crowd and dispersed them after warning them not to get excited. After this public meetings took place at

various places, our community fearing lest the public being agitated should do any act which might endanger the peace of the country, sent volunteers in different directions. These meetings went on peacefully and no violence was done by the public. But on the 13th May, the Government changed its policy and took to increasing violence. Instead of allaying the feelings of the public this use of violence doubly excited the public. Before my eyes volunteers were thrown out from the balconies, bayonetted and made naked and abused. Their office was burnt down. Besides this in other villages also violence was used. Restrictions were imposed on meetings but in the interest of the country we went on performing our duty. I was entrusted by the Central Committee with the work of Badaga and other villages and also of Mardan. I went on tours and preached to the people to remain non-violent and use Khaddar cloth, boycott British goods and establish Jirgas and have their cases decided by those Jirgas. Information in the village was received on 25th May 1930, about the arrest of six volunteers in the village Takker. The names of the persons arrested are given in list No. 1 and they were being arranged in a procession which I also accompanied. The military near Gujargarhi obstructed their passage, after they had travelled for about nine or ten miles. Two hundred police constables with Mr. Murphy, Assistant Superintendent of Police were ahead and two hundred and fifty armed military men were standing behind. There were also two Europeans. One of them was Captain Hay, Assistant Commissioner, Marden, while the other was some military officer. They having stopped the procession called the arrested persons and made them stand behind. The army did not permit the procession to proceed further and the processionists also were not prepared to retreat. After a minute or two the leaders were made to depart towards the prison. After this the police constables with the military arranging themselves in a line stood in front of the procession and obstructed their further progress and Captain Hay ordered the crowd to go back. The crowd requested permission to accompany their leader to Mardan Jail but permission was refused. An oral message was sent through Mahmud Zarif that the crowd would cause damage. At this we said that we would offer ten men's securities for good behaviour. If the crowd did any damage we were responsible. But Capt. Hay did not permit and the crowd when informed of that offered satyagraha and lay down on the ground. At this scene leaders moved aside and began to think as to what to do at that time because the Assistant Commissioner did not permit the procession to proceed and the processionists were not prepared to go back. While we were busy in consultations, Mr. Murphy, Assistant Superintendent of Police on horseback moving to and fro among the satyagrahis enquired of every one whether they had any weapons. The answer to this question was in the negative. After this Mr. Murphy whistled and ordered

the police constables to attack and he himself headed the attack with a lathi on the crowd. The volunteers patiently received injuries and blows. Mr. Murphy after passing three rows of labourers entered a crowd consisting of women, the children and ordinary people and showered lathi blows on this crowd also. The crowd was quite non-violent and received lathi blows patiently. While such brutalities were being committed, a woman was heard crying and weeping. It is said that a man among the crowd having been provoked came out, caught hold of Mr. Murphy, threw him flat on the ground and having snatched his pistol, shot him through the head. No sooner did we hear the sound of firing than we reached the spot. Even before this occurrence we had decided to lead the procession back but after this influenced by the tragic event we beseeched the processionists to turn back. The procession turned back; in an orderly way. Next day we were informed that Captain Hay had declared that the murder of Murphy would be avenged upon Gujargarhi and Takker village. We tried our best but failed to apprehend the murderer to hand him over to the police. As we had the pledge of non-violence from the crowd we are confident that this was not the doing of a Khudai Khidmatgar. Our party felt very sorry for this deed.

The residents of village Takker being afraid of Captain Hay's threat decided to evacuate the village. There being no raid for two days the people returned to their homes with confidence. On receipt of the information that the people had come to their homes Captain Hay beseiged the village of Takker early in the morning with a large number of troops together with six machine-guns. That night I was in Badaga at a distance of six or seven miles from Takker. Next morning I was about to go to Sidhi Pir a distance of three miles from Takker. When I reached Pir Lal I learnt that Takker had been beseiged by the military on all sides. The troops had left when I reached Takker. The people were panic striken and the houses of Rahim Khan Malik and Amin Gul Malik were on fire, the map thereof is attached with the above statement. I have prepared a list of the dead and the injured and the houses that suffered in the loot and the arrested persons, which are attached with the above statement. As a result of inquiries on the spot it transpired that the persons shot had come to extinguish the fire.

I myself saw Chaedda, Paddang, Babra, Ghazai Khel and Mohamad Gul Mian Garhi surrounded on 1st June by ten thousand troops. The troops similarly beseiged village Sado on the 2nd June from where 42 persons were taken to Mardan Jail under arrest. At this time our country is practically a theatre for military operations. Arrests are taking place everyday and people are belaboured. Unspeakable atrocities are bing perpetrated.

Till June 2nd when I was on the way to Rawalpindi the fol-

lowing men had been arrested under Section 302 on suspicion of Mr. Murphy's murder:—

1. Thirty men of the village Takker, list whereof is attached with the above statement, dated the 25th May, 1930.

2. I was told at Mardan that 35 men had been arrested at Gujargarhi under Section 302.

3. 42 men of the village Sado were arrested in my presence and brought to Mardan. I have not got a list of these with me now but I can send it later on.

4. The seige and arrests continue. The tyranny, the zulum of the Government has grown beyond limits and the people are extremely harassed. It is due to their vow of non-violence that they are still under control but if this state of things continues it will be difficult to keep them under control. Many families are migrating across the Frontier.

I exhibit a blood stained shirt of a martyr who was killed by a machine gun.

To the Chairman:—I have submitted a statement which I have read out and signed as correct.

I am the founder of the Mardan Congress Committee and also member of the Working Committee, Peshawar. The list and map produced by me may be placed in the miscellaneous papers.

3-6-30 (Sd.) FAZAL AKRAM

Read out and signed by the witness in the presence of the Committee.

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

66

The statement of Nikkaram, son of Dhelumal, caste Arora, occupation Broker, age 50, residence Peshawar

On 31st May 1930, my son Chaman Lal on returning from school changed his clothes and went out of the house. On enquiry he told me that a boy and a girl were killed by the firing which had taken place in Kissa Khani Bazar, he was going with their funeral procession. I accompanied him and we both joined the funeral procession. When the procession reached Mohalla Dhallan a batch of English soldiers came from the opposite direction. Abdul Jalil, Salim Khan and Sardar Ganga Singh beseeched them to allow them to pass as they were taking out a funeral and not a procession. Upon this British soldiers advanced with bayonets pointing towards the people. The people gave way and made room for them. Meanwhile an English man who appeared to be their officer ordered the troops to fire. Therefore the soldiers fired by kneeling on one knee by which many people were killed and wounded. My son Chaman Lal

was one of the dead. The people lay down on the ground or ran away towards the shops otherwise more lives would have been lost. I laid myself down close to a wall whereby I was saved. I recovered the body of my son after two hours on being informed about it by the people of the dispensary of Dr. Khan Sahib. A bullet was found after the body was burnt which I produce before you. On the left rib where the bullet had entered, the colour of the body had turned indigo, by which it seemed the bullet was poisoned. I produce the photograph of my son taken before the body was burnt.

(Sd.) NIKKARAM (in Landa script)

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

Note—The witness was weeping profusely whilst under examination.

(Sd.) V. J. PATEL

67

The statement of Dwarka Nath, son of Jethmal, caste Arora, occupation Broker, age 20 years, residence Peshawar

On 31st May 1930, I saw from Pul Pukhta that a funeral procession of the children who were shot dead at about 9 or 9-30 was coming from the city. I also joined the procession. When the funeral procession reached near Gorkhatri, a Mohammadan gentleman whose name I do not know, exhorted the people to remain non-violent inspite of any amount of violence which might be used against them. When the funeral procession reached near Mohalla Dhallan, a batch of British soldiers came from the opposite direction and they blocked the way. Two Mohammedan and a Sikh gentleman, with folded hands told them that those were dead bodies and they were taking them for cremation, but the British soldiers attacked the processionists with bayonets and on this occasion also fire was opened. Some of the people lay down on the ground and some ran away into the lanes and some were killed and wounded. I laid on the platform of a shop. Then I heard the British soldiers advancing. I went into a sarai nearby. Meanwhile I heard sound of firing. I ascended a roof and on looking towards the adjoining street, I saw in a mosque the dead body of Chaman Lal on a charpai and the dead body of a Mohammedan on the floor. I with another friend of mine named Krishenlal jumped down whereby I got hurt and the signs of hurt are present on my person. We with the help of two more persons took the dead body of Chaman Lal and reached Khan Sahib's Street. At that time six or seven wounded persons were brought there. After this, Nikka Mal, father of Chaman Lal came there and took away the dead body to his house. The dead body of Chaman Lal

was taken to be cremated and before cremation it was photographed. I can verify the photograph.

On the 3rd day when we went to the cremation ground to gather the ashes, a bullet was also found there. I was present at the time.

Q. Chairman: Are you in this photograph?

A. Myself and Lala Nikkamal are both in the photograph Ex. X.

4-6-30 (Sd.) DWARKA NATH

Note—Witness shows two marks of injuries on the arms to the Committee and states there are other internal injuries also.

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

68

The statement of Karam Chand, son of Arjan Singh, caste Arora, occupation Service, age 30 years, residence Peshawar

I joined the funeral procession from Andar Shehar of the boy and girl who were shot dead on the 31st May 1930. When we came near Mohalla Dhallan, a party of British soldiers came from the opposite direction and blocked our way. Jalil and Sardar Ganga Singh and another Muslim gentleman begged to be allowed to pass. But the soldiers began to press the people backwards with their bayonets. Meanwhile the order to fire was given and I immediately lay down on the ground. Many people passed over me and when the people had passed I got up and ran away. I heard after reaching home that Chaman Lal had been shot and that his body was taken with great difficulty through by-lanes to Dr. Khan Sahib's street, near Mandi Bheri. We brought the body and before cremating it a photograph was taken in which I also appear. On the third day when they went to collect the ashes I was present. In the ashes was found a bullet which I can identify. In Dr. Khan Sahib's Street I saw six corpses and in the hospital I saw many wounded.

4-6-30 (Sd.) KARAM CHAND (in Landa script)

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

69

The statement of Hari Singh, son of S. Parba Singh, caste Sikh, occupation Shop-keeper, age 45 years, residence Peshawar

On the 31st May, I was standing on Pukka Bridge, when I saw a funeral procession coming followed by thousands. It was the funeral of those martyrs who were shot on the same day. I followed the funeral. When we reached Mohalla Dhallan a party of British soldiers arrived in a lorry from the opposite direction and blocked our way. As I was in the rear of the procession I heard from others that Hakim Jalil and his two companions begged to be allowed to pass but the soldiers after a little while opened fire whereby many persons were wounded and many were killed. I was saved because I ran and took shelter inside a baker's shop. My cousin Awtar Singh who was 24 years old was killed by rifle shots. Two bullets hit him on the left chest and one bullet in the left shoulder. At night those who came from the Railway Station were not allowed to enter the city after 8-45 P. M. Awtar Singh's father's name is Sher Singh. He is a very poor man. The father and mother and two younger brothers were dependent upon the deceased for their maintenance.

4-6-30 (Sd.) HARI SINGH

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

70

The statement of Firoz Chand, son of L. Jawahir Sahai, caste Hindustani, age 30, Editor, the Bande Mataram, residence Lahore

I produce the copies of the following communiques and proclamations (as published in newspapers) issued by the Government of the N. W. F. Province and the Government of India on the subject of the disturbances in Peshawar on 23rd April, and the subsequent events connected therewith upto the date of the appointment of the Sulaiman Committee.

(1) Communique dated the 23rd April, N. W. F. Government marked Ex. Y.

(2) Communique dated the 28th April, N. W. F. Government marked Ex. Y1.

(3) Communique dated the 4th May, N. W. F. Government marked Ex. Y|2.

(4) Proclamation dated 10th May, N. W. F. Government marked Ex. Y|3.

(5) Communique dated the 27th April, Government of

India marked Ex. Y|4.

(6) Communique dated 6th May, Government of India marked Ex. Y|5.

(7) Communique dated 19th May, Government of India marked Ex. Y|6.

I also produce cuttings of newspapers containing press reports of the evidence produced before the Sulaiman Committee. It is Ex. Z.

4-6-30 (Sd.) FIROZ CHAND

Read out to the witness and signed by him in the presence of the Committee.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit A

PROCLAMATION

To

THE CITIZENS OF PESHAWAR

In the past the Government has treated you and all other people with justice and now with the exception of those who are guilty of crimes Government does not desire to punish anybody. The Congress Committees and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha are guilty of inciting people to rebellion and by doing this they have created unrest in the city and they have put your lives and property in jeopardy which the Government has been protecting for many years.

The Congress Committee has in its advertisements admitted that it has corresponded with the Haji of Turangzai and threatened that he is going to cause an attack to be made on the District with a lashkar of the Hill tribes. Such an attempt to incite tribesmen to enmity comes within the definition of waging war against the King for which the law prescribes very severe punishments.

The Congress Committees and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha are therefore declared unlawful assemblies and an investigation of crimes Committed by them will be made and their leaders will be arrested. Loyal people and well-wishers of the Government will not be interfered with.

No volunteers will be allowed to remain in the streets and lanes. They should discard their uniforms and leave their lathis and weapons at home.

C. LATIMER
Chief Commissioner
N.-W. F. Province

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit B

To

The Khans, Raises and other respectable people of Peshawar City and District.

After greetings, it is known to you and you have seen with your own eyes how great an effort the Congress has made and is making so that the present established Government may be destroyed. If they succeed (although they will not succeed) what will be the result of it?

Will the Congress allow you to keep your lands, your Jagirs and your Muafis? Will it be able to defend your Frontier and will the Congress Committee be able to deal with you justly?

Do you want to be servants of the Congress and accept the authority of the Congress? I am sure you will not like the (authority of the) Congress.

The time is such that you ought to help the Government because it has been treating you with kindness and justice.

In what way can you help?

You should stop the Khidmatgars (volunteers) of the Congress who wear red coats from coming to your place. They call themselves Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God) but in reality they are the Khidmatgars of Gandhi. They are wearing the uniform of the Bolsheviks. They are none others but Bolsheviks.

They want to bring about the same state of things in this country which prevails in the countries which are under the authority of the Bolsheviks as you have heard.

You can stop the Bolsheviks from coming into your Ilakas and you can help your local officers.

This work you should do now.

If you have any complaints or desires the Government will consider them as it has always done in the past.

(Sd.) C. LATIMER
Chief Commissioner
N.-W. F. Province

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit C

Since those desirous of creating an estrangement between the Government and the people have spread many false rumours. Listen people of the Frontier Province and learn the truth about the riots that broke out in Peshawar on April 23 1930. On that day the Police arrested 12 Congressmen on charges of disseminating sedition, etc. People foregathered and created a riot. The

Deputy Commissioner went to the spot merely that the danger of rioting may be warded off. The crowd killed a British soldier and assaulted the Deputy Commissioner and his associates with stones and brickbats and hatchets and inflicted injuries on them. An armoured car was set fire to so that the occupants might be burnt down. It was only after such occurrences that the troops opened fire, to protect their own lives and those of other Government employees. Where is the country in which authorities would desist from firing under like circumstances?

The responsibility for the deaths that occurred lies on those selfish persons who mislead the people. Authorities will not fire on the subjects till they are compelled to. All the wounded people removed to the hospital are being properly nursed and treated. Be not misled by false rumours, but ponder over the facts and the happenings.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit D

Congress Bulletin No. 9

April 29, 1930

(1) Picketing of liquor shops continues, and so does the night patrol work.

(2) More volunteers are badly needed. Every Frontier youth ought to get enrolled.

(3) At a meeting held at the Islamia Club on April 28, an unsuccessful attempt was made to organise a Committee of Toadies, or Aman Sabha, after the Punjab fashion. Peshawar people, in particular Muslim brethren, should beware of such semi-official moves, and should recognise no organization except that of the Congress, which is the greatest national organisation, and which alone can end your troubles.

(4) A few days ago a meeting was held at Tehkal. The Nawabs and Raises of that place have assured the Deputy Commissioner that no political importance attached to the gathering which merely registered a protest against the Sarda Act. But now another meeting has been held at Tehkal attended by thousands of Pathans loudly protesting against the tyrrany of the British rule and demanding independence. This will make clear to the Frontier Government as to what the self-respecting Pathans of Tehkal really want—merely "Social Reforms" or independence. The truth is that just now loud protests are being raised against British rule in the whole of the Frontier Province. It is learnt that a grand meeting is being held at Kufti. Likewise news of national awakening is pouring in from Shabqdar, Chitidheri, and other places. Haji Turangzai Saheb, with his following of more than a lac of people is ready to participate in the national movement.

(5) To-day's procession mourning the loss of S. Sardara Singh killed by a traitor's bomb was very imposing. It was attended by nearly 12,000 people, a large number of whom were Mussalmans. The fact that people belonging to all sects and religions joined the procession shows that the feeling for unity is becoming stronger and that the people have now begun to see through the machinations of the enemy.

(6) As the Imperial Bank remains closed, all the other Banks remain closed too. People are being put to great trouble because of this. We fail to understand what this step means. Why should the Banks be closed?

(7) Information has been received that Tara Singh who was employed as a motor-driver with the European officer at the Grass Farm has been sacked because he recited a poem at the Shahi Masjid on Friday and another at the Khilafat meeting at the Shahi Bagh. The public ought to pay heed to such people and give them encouragement. Some car owner should take S. Tara Singh in his employment.

(8) Reports have been received from the village Mashu Khel that on the Bloody 23rd, 17,000 people were ready to come to Peshawar but they were induced to hold a meeting in their own village and by this trick prevented from coming to Peshawar. Mashu Khel and 5 or 6 other villages are always ready to help the Congress in peaceful ways.

(9) It is learnt that in Peshawar the British soldiers obstructed the movements of some people merely because they were putting on Gandhi caps.

(10) Mr. Hasan Imam, the well known nationalist leader of Patna writes:—

> "(*i*) Nationalism alone should be our religion.
>
> "(*ii*) India imports every year cigarettes worth of Rs. 2,50,00,000. I was hitherto a sinful man because I smoked cigarettes. Henceforward I would not touch them, and I would put on khaddar. Zindabad!

(11) Reports about rioting at Kohat and Bannu are utterly baseless. No disturbance has taken place at either place.

(12) The news published in the bulletin for 27-4-30 that Khan Ali Gul Khan and other comrades have been transferred to Lahore Jail, still lacks confirmation. It is not certain whether they have been sent to that jail or whether they still continue in the Bala Hissar fort.

(13) Learning of the tragic occurrences at Peshawar, the people of Hoti-Mardan held a peaceful meeting and took out a procession in the town. Maulana Abul Mian Azad delivered speeches.

(14) The Congress Committee is heartily thankful to Mian Abdul Karim Sahib of Jehangirpura and Mian Ghulam Sarwar for their supplying cold drink and sweets for the volunteer force.

(15) While keeping watch at Dabgari Gate, on the morning of 29-4-30, Congress volunteers caught a pick-pocket and restored to a woman the money he had stolen from her pocket.

President
PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
PESHAWAR

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit E

On the 23rd of April hundreds of innocent and unarmed Indians were shot down by the machine guns of the Government merely because they had marched in an extremely peaceful procession to the Police station to give a send off to their arrested leaders. To the bureaucracy it was entirely unbearable that those who openly gave expression to their sentiments against the repressive policy of the Government should be honoured by the public. The Civil officials, as is their wont, immediately called in the troops to help them and lo! in half an hour the Kissa Khani Bazar had become a veritable shambles. The peaceful crowd demanded just one thing—that the troops and the armoured cars should be withdrawn, for their persence was a cause of provocation. But drunk with the imperial wine the authorities thought that even the considering of this modest proposal would mean loss of prestige for them. First of all the armoured cars were driven through the unwarned crowd, which killed and crushed to pieces scores of people. It is alleged that the people being provoked by the tragic deaths of their associates, did violence against a British soldier. Immediately revolvers, rifles and machine guns began to shower bullets and killed innumerable innocent persons and wounded hundreds of them. Innumerable corpses and some persons in whom life still lingered were removed to some unknown place in motor lorries. The dead bodies were kicked in thoroughfares by the British soldiers. For hours, the wounded were writhing in pain without any medical aid. These tragic happenings have widowed hundreds of women and orphaned hundreds of children. Over 200 people were reported as killed, wounded or missing in the Congress office till the evening of the 29th. Investigation is still going on. Such are the true facts concerning which anonymous notices are being issued. People of the Frontier! do not rely on these notices and await the authoritative list the Congress Committee is now going to issue.

President
CONGRESS COMMITTEE
PESHAWAR

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit F

Bulletin No. 10

List of the Martyrs and of the Wounded, etc.

An incomplete list of the names of those peaceful and unarmed people of Peshawar, who earned eternal lustre by becoming victims of the bayonets and bullets of the ferocious beasts, the white soldiers of the British Government, or by being run over by the armoured cars, was issued in Bulletin No. 7 dated 26-4-1930. This second list confirms the reports so far received in the Congress office. Even this is by no means exhaustive, for reports are still pouring in. However, all information till this day (April 30) is herewith presented to the public.

LIST OF THE MARTYRS

1. A woman whose name is not known. She was shot dead while bringing her martyred husband.

2. Agha Mohammad alias Talanga son of Mamnari residence of mohalla Kotala Rashid Khan Ilaqa Gunj.

3. A stranger name unknown residence Masto Khelan.

4. A stranger name unknown residence Mir Kachauri Arbab Saheb.

5. Ilahi Bakhsh son of Mohammad Sadiq student of class X of Collegiate School Sabzimandi, Gunj, volunteer, Khilafat Committee.

6. Gul Mohammad son of Mian Jani, Zamindar mohalla Gandyverah.

7. Walige, father's name not known.

8. Ghulam Mohammad Nawab, residence mohalla Bajori Kalan.

9. Sarda son of Pirandali, Sweeper, residence Daroya Pajori.

10. Malang Shah son of Mohammad Shah, residence mohalla Kakran.

11. Dasaundi Ram son of Lala Pater Mal killed being crushed by armoured car.

12. Ghulam Hussain son of Mian Khan, residence of mohalla Sarai Latif.

13. Qamar Gul son of Khan Gul Coachman, residence mohalla Gulabkhana.

14. Tegh Ali, father's name not known, died below the balcony of Andalib qaual.

15. Shahidbaz son of Shahbaz Kochi Umer Khel Sarai Ibraham.

16. Umar Khan son of Gul Mohammad Khan, residence Sarai Ibraham.

17. Sher Baz, father's name not known residence Sarai Ghani Namak Mandi.

18. Mehnda, father's name not known caste Mohmond, residence Namak Mandi.

19. Sher, father's name not known residence Sarai Karam Chand Namak Mandi.

20. Umar Khel, father's name not known, residence Sarai Karam Chand Namak Mandi.

21. Haji, father's name not known, residence Sarai Ghulam Rasul Abdul Ghafoor.

22. Agha Khan son of Zarif Khan, caste Tajak, at present residing at Namak Mandi.

23. Chaudhari Abdulla, son of Mohammad Paupt, caste Kashmiri, residence Chakla.

24. Abdul Majid son of Bhodu Kumhar, residence Garikhana.

25. Mustqim, father's name not known.

26. Ziarat Gul son of Said Gul.

27. Abdul Gaffar Khan son of Qasim Khan.

28. Deoraj alias Tota Ram, father's name not known.

29. Mushtana, father's name not known.

30. Sheojan, father's name not known, residence Tahasil Mahaqi at present residing in Nalbandi.

31. Ramzan, father's name not known, residence Namak Mandi.

32. Dalil son of Jahangir, residence Garhi Samojai, age 29 years.

33. Ghaffar Mali Jhabbawala.

34. Wali Mohammad son of Juma Maski, residence Hoti Mardan.

35. Out of 6 Turkistani, one dead body was received.

36. A stranger name unknown, residence Village Achaini Payan Tappa Khalil.

37. A stranger name unknown caste Sewati residence Mohalla Bhawanidas.

38. A stranger, name unknown, caste Sewati, residence mohalla Bhawanidas.

39. Akram Khan, son of Ghafur, caste Sewati, residence Mohalla Daftar Bandan.

40. Abdul Jalil son of Wawar, residence of Mohalla Takia

Sangan.

41. Fazal Rahman, son of Sultan, residence of Mohalla Jatan.

42. Abdul Majid son of Rahim Bakhsh, residence Mohalla Gulab Khana.

43. Muhammad Alim, son of Fazal Nur, residence Sarai Abdul Latif.

44. Safadar son of Jamal, residence Mohalla Kachori.

45. Mustaqim, father's name not known, residence Mohalla Kakran.

46. Abdulla son of a stranger name unknown residence Mohalla Kakran.

47. Pahelwan Gul, son of person unknown, residence Mohalla Kakran.

48. Gul Rehman son of Sher Dil, residence Mohalla Kakran Namak Mandi.

49. Khan son of person unknown, residence Mohalla Namak Mandi.

50. Muhammad Ashraf son of unknown person, residence Mohalla Namak Mandi.

51. Mian Daud son of unknown person, residence Mohalla Hajar Khwani.

52. Mohammad Afzal son of a stranger name unknown.

53. Fazal Din son of Muhammad Bakhsh, residence Hajara.

54. Agha Muhammad son of Umar Bakhsh, residence Mohalla Dabgari.

55. Fazal Mohammad son of Nur Mohammad, residence Mohalla Sarai Shahbaz.

56. Mohammad Din son of unknown person, residence Mohalla Kachhi.

57. Dilawar son of a stranger name unknown.

58. Akram son of stranger name unknown.

59. Ghafur Khan son of unknown person, residence Hazar Khwani.

60. Zaidulla, a stranger.

61. Karim Shah son of Daud Shah, a stranger.

62. Masda Khan son of unknown person, residence Dhaki Nalbandi.

63. Abdul Ahad son of Mohammad, residence Chakla. Bhawanidas.

64. Faqir Mohammad son of unknown person, residence Mohalla Bhawanidas.

65. Abdul Ghaffar son of unknown person, residence Mohalla Gunj.

66. Daud Gul son of unknown person, residence Mohalla Sodazai.

67. Kulang son of unknown person, residence Gunj.

68. Shah Afzal son of unknown person, residence village Nahaqi.

69. Syed Mohammad son of unknown person, residence Pindi Gheb.

70. Lale son of Sher Dil, residence Mohalla Mochipura, volunteer Khilafat Committee.

71. Mohammad Said son of Fazal, residence Dabgiri, volunteer Khilafat Committee.

72. Mir Ghulam Shah son of Mohammad Nawab Shah, volunteer Khilafat Committee.

73. Mustqim son of Fazal, residence Achaini Payan.

74. An unknown young Hindu.

75. A young Sikh, name unknown.

76. Mustqim son of Mohammad, residence Chana.

77. Mohammad Shah son of Zarghon Shah, age 30 years, Jalalabad village Chamni.

78. Jamdad Khan Kochi, from beyond British Territory.

79. Musa son of Rahim Gul Kochi, from beyond British territory.

List of the Injured

80. (1) Abdul Halim son of Abdul Hakim, residence mohalla Fazal, House No. 917.

81. (2) Muhammad Unis son of Mian Mohammad Bakhsh, residence mohalla Gandyverah, house No. 2127. His leg has been cut off owing to a serious bullet wound.

82. (3) Mir Dost son of unknown person, Ilaqa Syed Mohammadshah, mohalla Maqrab Khan. He has got a bullet wound in his leg.

83. (4) Mohammad Jalil son of Dilwar, occupation Bhani, mohalla Maqarab Khan.

84. (5) Alim son of Mohammad Sadiq, age 20 years, Mirpura Pakka. Has been injured by armoured car.

85. (6) Faqir Mohammad son of Matoli, residence Hajara at present residing at Jatal. Wounded by revolver shot.

86. (7) Ghulam Jan son of Jumma Khan residence mohalla Sanchan, his ribs are smashed by a bullet.

87. (8) Fazal Din son of unknown person timber cutter, Mandi Chob Madan Sang Chob Farosh. He has a bullet wound in his calf.

88. (9) Wazir Mohammad son of Mehraul, residence mohalla Jahangir pura house No. 321.

89. (10) Abdul Rehman alias Jani son of Samani, residence mohalla Bar No. 3094.

90. (11) Abdul Qayum alias Math son of Abdul Khaliq, residence mohalla Chainbazar Bagh Shah.

91. (12) Rahim Gul.

92. (13) A stranger.

93. (14) A stranger.

94. (15) Jamil son of Musli, residence Sarai Arbab Sahib, near Darwaza Dabgari, bullet wound in the neck.

95. (16) Sher Deli, son of Kazim, Mohalla Kakran, crushed under armoured car.

96. (17) A servant, Gyan Chand, bullet wound in the chest.

97. (18) Gulji, son of Ghulam Rabani, Mohalla Asodat.

98. (19) Faqir Mohammad, son of unknown person, Mohalla Jatan.

99. (20) Mohammad Yaqub, son of Fazal Kadir, volunteer, Congress and Khilafat.

100. (21) Ahmad Ullah father's name unknown, Mohalla Gulabkhana.

101. (22) Joshim Kohestam, father's name unknown, residence Chakla.

102. (23) Samdu, father's name unknown, Mashki, residence Chakla.

103. (24) Khan Mohammad, father's name unknown, Mohalla Sarkian.

104. (25) Gul Mohammad, father's name unknown, Mohalla Sarkian.

105. (26) Mohammad Din, father's name unknown, Mohalla Rahmatullah.

106. (27) Mohammad Ramzan, son of Zardad, Mohalla Rahmatulah.

107. (28) Gulam Nabi, father's name unknown, Tea Seller, residence Dhaki Nalbandi.

108. (29) Pir Dost, father's name unknown, residence Sadarat Kot, Morband.

109. (30) Gopi Chand, son of Ganga Bishan, Mohalla Bhogayan.

110. (31) Nanak Chand, son of Chhajju Ram, Mohalla Lahoriyan.

111. (32) Balwant, son of Bhagat Singh, Mohalla Lahoriyan.

112. (33) Lal Mohammad, son of Nur Mohammad, in the Hospital.

113. (34) Arazmand, father's name unknown.

114. (35) Wali Mohammad, son of Jumma.

115. (36) Pir Mohammad, son of Mohammad Amin, Mohalla Gulabkhana.

116. (37) Gul Mohammad, father's name unknown, Mohalla Gulabkhana.

117. (38) Jumma, son of Moharullah, Mohalla Gulabkhana.

118. (39) Mohammad Din, son of Allahdata, Mohalla Marwiha.

149. (40) Abdul Jalil, in Egerton Hospital.

120. (41) A stranger, name unknown.

121. (42) Mohammad Din, son of Inayatullah, Mohalla Marwiha.

122. (43) Ram Chand, son of Sakha Singh, Driver, crushed under armoured car.

123. (44) Yar Mohammad, son of Nur Mohammad, residence Sarai Sahbaz,

124. (45) Pir Mohammad, son of Razin Mochi, Mohalla Gulabkhana.

125. (46) Gul Mohammad, son of Abdul Munnan, labourer residence Hashtangari Darwaza.

126. (47) Said Akbar, son of Ali Ahmad, residence Koot Budni.

127. (48) Abdulla, son of Saidulla.

128. (49) Mohammad, son of Dilawar, Mohalla Chowk Nasir Khan.

129. (50) Jumma, son of Naqibulla, Baker, Mohalla Gulabkhana.

130. (51) Wazeer Mohammad, Shop-keeper, residence Bazar Jahangirpura.

131. (52) Husaini, son of Kasim, caste Malal Mashki, residence Kashmir, temporary residence Gavzan, Jahangirpura.

132. (53) Hamad Meer, son of Kasim Meer, caste and occupation Rafugari, residence Kashmir.

133. (54) Madad Khana, residence Ilaqa Gair Kuchi.

134. (55) Jalale, residence Ilaka Gair Kuchi.

135. (56) Zaman Khan, residence Ilaqa Gair Kuchi.

136. (57) Qamre, father's name unknown, residence Ilaqa Gair Kuchi.

List of missing persons whose existence is uncertain

137. (1) Mst. Dilbaru, wife of Shafaullah, residence Badher, occupation Zamindari, with a son and a daughter.

138. (2) Son of Mst. Dilbaru, age 12 years.

139. (3) Daughter of Mst. Dilbaru, age 1½ years.

140. (4) Musammat Shudba, wife of Akbar Khan, resident of Tehsil Charsada with a boy.

141. (5) Son of Mst. Shudba age 1½ years.

142. (6) Akbar Khan, son of Jabbar Khan.

143. (7) Abdul Khaliq, son of Mir Jan Afghan Kakakhel age 22 years.

144. (8) Gul Khan, son of Piru, age 30 years, Haji Kakshala Garhi Darwaza near the well.

145. (9) Abdulla, son of Jamal, age 13 years.

146. (10) Syed Yaqub Shah, son of Chunni Pir Khan, age 37 years, Ilaqa Dabgari Garhi Mir Ahmad Shah Mohalla Zaman Shah.

147. (11) Mohammad Sufi, son of Kasim Sufi, Mohalla Gazaran.

148. (12) Ibrahim labourer, caste Usman Khel.

149. (13) Abdul Karim, son of Abdul Aziz, residence Mandi Arbab Sahab.

150. (14) Abdul Rahman, Biloch Kutlawala, age 30 years.

151. (15) Ghulam Husain, son of Ghulam Haidar.

153. (17) The information was received by Faqir Mohamad residence Abdah, village Chinipargan that out of 3 men of Khalil 2 are missing and one is among the martyrs.

154. (18) Mian Mohammad, son of Nur Mohammad, caste Ahwan, resident of Chauk Nasir Khan.

155. (19) Sadulla, son of Saifulla, resident of Malal Khalil Doaba.

156. (20) Rahman Uddin, son of Khairuddin, resident of Mohalla Safiulla Sarafia.

157. (21) As informed by Mohammad Shah Khan, Kasba Bagiram Ilaqa Kabul Charakar Ilm Din.

158. (22)
159. (23)
160. (24)
Mushtaq Konde Satron, resident of Turkistan and three others whose names could not be known, but who are residents of Turkistan and came to India for trade, of whose corpses only one has been found and entered in the list of martyrs.

161. (25) Five men have not been traced.

162. (26) Allen Khan, son of Azam Khan, Thekedar Sadar Bazar.

163. (27) Mahabat, son of Zamir, age 20 years.

164. (28) Wajib Shah, age 21 years Mohalla Uqi.

165. (29) Idu Gul, son of Sultan, caste Shinwari, residence Sarai Sing Dhakli Darwaza.

166. (30) Rahim Gul, son of unknown person, outside Shitangari Darwaza.

167. (31) Karim father's name not known, Namak Mandi.

168. (32) Sardar, son of Pirandata, residence Gulab Khana.

169. (33) Hayat father's name not known employee in a workshop, age 17 years.

170. (34) Sadar father's name not known.

171. (35) Rora employee of Committee, age 14 years Christian.

172. (36) Hayat, son of Bidhawa, residence Darwaza Bajouri.

173. (37) Hamida, son of Hira, Sweeper, Darwaza Bajouri.

174. (38) Noori, father's name not known, residence Bhanamari, guest of Zaman Shah.

175. (39) Sher Islam father's name not known, residence Bhanamari.

176. (40) Firozuddin father's name not known, residence of Hangu, guest of Aga Safdar Jan.

177. (41) Ali Ahmad, son of Taj Mohammad residence Afghanistan present residence Mohalla Kashmiri, Ilaqa Ganj.

178. (42) Samandar, son of Ghulam, residence Sudhir Tehsil Sawabi.

179. (43) Mohammad Aman, son of Abdul Rahman, residence Sadhir Tehsil Sawabi. Both the uncle and the nephew had come for filing an appeal on 23rd April 1930.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit G

Bulletin No. 11

Dated 30-4-30

(1) Picketing and Patrol work continue as before.

(2) Information has been received that comrade Diwan Roshan Lal was arrested this morning at the Attock Railway station whilst coming by a train from the Punjab.

(3) S. Saram Singh (Hashtnagari Gate) has sent two bags of flour for the volunteers. The Committee offers him its thanks. Mian Haji Jan Mohammad Sahib Chehur Jan has sent 'pulao' and a large quantity of fruits for the volunteers. The Committee is thankful to him.

(4) Reliable information has been received that all prisoners in the Peshawar jail are on hunger-strike since the 28th April, 1930. The prisoners are shut up in the barracks and have been deprived of the gur and snuff allowance. The reason for this is that on the Bloody Day, 23rd of April, they had observed 'hartal' to commemorate the Martyrs' sacrifice. Now it is learn that nearly 80 out of these prisoners have been transferred to some other jail .

(5) At Parang (Tehsil Charsadda) peaceful propaganda is being carried on and meetings are being organised. Every day the Government makes display of police and Air Force.

(6) **Official Misstatements.**—The Government is spreading all kinds of misstatements through notices distributed from aeroplanes. People should give no credence to these reports and should learn the true facts from Congress Bulletins.

(7) A Hindu, young man, who sells sharbats etc., inside the city was arrested on 24-4-1930 because he was wearing a Gandhi cap. No case has been started against him so far. In the Gorkhatri lock up he has serious complaints against the treatment meted out to him by the Government.

(8) For the crime of patriotism ten of our leaders have been sentenced as under:—

1. Maulana Abdulrahim Sahib Devbandi, three sentences of three years (Rigorous) each—total nine years.
2. Comrade Rahim Bux, three sentences of three years (Rigorous) each—total nine years.
3. Comrade Ghulam Rabbani Sethi, two sentences of 3 years each—total six years.
4. Comrade Allah Bux Barqi, a year and a half (Rigorous).

The following have been announced in a previous Bulletin.

5. Agha Lal Badshah Sahib, thirteen months (simple) and a fine of Rs. 200.
5. Khan Ali Gul Khan, one year (simple).
7. Lala Paira Khan, one year (simple).
8. Moulvi Khan Meer, one year (simple).
9. Comrade Acharaj Ram, one year (simple) .
10. Comrade Abdul Rahman Ruja, one year (simple).

Note.—The cases of comrade Abdul Rashid son of Mian Ghulam Husain and comrade Roshan Lal have yet to be decided.

(9) In a previous Bulletin a boycott of the newspaper "Inqilab" was announced but the news agent is regularly getting his supply of this paper. It is the national duty of all Peshawari brethren to abstain from reading this traitor sheet which publishes false versions of the Peshawar happenings.

(10) The whole of India is celebrating the Peshawar day in memory of the Peshawar Martyrs. To commemorate them you should also observe Hartal to-morrow. The Congress Committee will take out a procession to-morrow which you should join, and under the auspices of the Congress hold a grand public meeting at the Shahi Bagh. You should attend in large numbers.

(11) The People of Takhta (District Peshawar) are holding a meeting on Sunday 4th May, 1930. It is the duty of the Peshawar people to attend it in large numbers.

(12) The Government is carrying on a propaganda to create a split between the Congress and the Khilafat Committees. The Congress Committee announces that it regards all organizations whose object is to achieve independence for India as following the same principles it stands for. The people of Peshawar are warned not to believe false rumours and propaganda set afloat to drive a wedge between the Congress and the Khilafat organizations.

(13) Day before yesterday (April 29th, 1930) near the wire gate of the Jail some British soldiers threw stones at a tonga in which some ladies were driving.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit H

Congress Bulletin No. 12

Dated 1st May 1930

1. The picketing of liquor shops and patrol work continue as hitherto.

2. The Deputy Commissioner went to Tehkal on 30-4-1930 and carried on propaganda in favour of the Government but as the truth is clear like day light to the wise this had no effect.

3. It is reliably learnt that when our leaders were removed to the jail, prisoners there demanded their release. As a consequence, the political prisoners were removed to the fort, but the poor prisoners are still being made to suffer, (for having demanded the release of the leaders) and are subjected to great persecution. One L. Bishen Das, goldsmith, has informed the office that while coming from Sadar in a tonga, he was made to get down by some British soldiers near the newly erected railway bridge, merely because he was putting on a Gandhi cap. An hour later an Indian happened to arrive there and he was released on the condition that both of them should take some other route to the city. He did so and informed this office of the incident. Such is the improper treatment that is accorded to Indians.

5. The police arrested last night some volunteers who were informing shopkeepers in Sadar of the arrest and of orders of the All India National Committee regarding the hartal. On being questioned the volunteers said they were announcing the orders of the All India National Committee. The police officer released them after detaining them for 2 or 3 hours.

6. It is learnt from a reliable source that the people of Akora Khatak wanted to hold a meeting in memory of the Peshawar martyrs but Khan Bahadur Mohammad Zaman Khan put obstacles to make it unsuccessful. He even invited the assistance of the Peshawar Deputy Commissioner who sent the Assistant Commissioner, Dilawar Khan, with some Border Militia to disperse the meeting. In spite of all these obstacles the meeting was successfully held.

7. Comrades Diwan Roshan Lal and Abdul Rashid have been sentenced to six months and one year, respectively.

8. People coming by night trains ought to get down at the City Railway station because in the cantonment the soldiers posted at the gates give people a great deal of trouble.

9. In yesterday's bulletin (No. 11) it was said that Haji Jan Mohammad has presented for the volunteers "pulao" and some fruits. It was really not Haji Jan Mohammad, but Jan Mohammad, proprietor of the Ajral Aerated Waters Factory.

10. All the patriots interned in the Bala Hisar fort, so far, have not been removed to any other place.

11. Congress propaganda is being carried on vigorously in the villages of Peshawar District. Meetings are being held in every village and the national leaders are exhorting people to observe non-violence and to use khaddar.

12. To-day a procession of Congress volunteers led by the Jathedar Haji Karam Ilahi started from the Congress office and went round the whole city carrying on khaddar propaganda and

announcing the hartal. The procession returned peacefully to the Congress office. Members of the Congress Committee are grateful to the volunteers and want to do everything for keeping the people united.

13. Messrs. Attar Singh Kirpal Singh, cloth dealers, inform the Secretary, City Congress Committee, Peshawar, that they have sent registered notices to all their agents cancelling orders for foreign cloth. (Names of Agents:—(*i*) Messrs. Ram Kishen Sethi and Co., Peshawar. (*ii*) Messrs. Harbhagwan Das, Har Narain Das, Peshawar, (*iii*) H. A. Levy and Co., Lahore, (*iv*) Messrs. T. Khanna and Sons, Peshawar City.

29-5-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit I

From the office of the Congress Committee, Peshawar.

List of the persons who suffered from the bullets of European soldiers on the 23rd April 1930:—

1. Lale, father's name not known of Mochipura, volunteer of Khilafat Committee.

2. Mohammad Said son of Fazal Ahmed, of Dabgari, Khilafat Volunteer.

3. A stranger from Mardan.

4. A stranger.

5. Akram son of Ghafur, swati.

6. Abdul Majil son of Daud, Takiya Singhan, Khilafat Volunteer.

7. Fazul Rehman son of Sultan, Chaltan, Chapli-maker.

8. Ilahi Bakhsh son of Muhammad Saddiq, Khilafat Volunteer.

9. Wali Mohammad son of Juma Khan, of Mardan.

10. Malang Shah son of Ahmed Shah, Kakkran, Dabgari.

11. Mir Ghulam Shah son of Muhammad Kaif Shah, Bajori Volunteer.

12. Abdul Majid son of Bholu, Garikhana, Volunteer.

13. Qamar Gul son of Khan Gul, Galabkhana, Afridi.

15. Mohammad Alam son of Fazal Nur, Sarai Abdul Latif, Bajori.

16. Pir Mahomad son of Muhammad Zarrin, Afghan Mahmond.

17. Ghulam Mohammad son of Ghulam Jilani, Mohalla Gandi—Vera, Peshawar.

18. Ghulam Safdar son of Jamal, at present of Kachori.

19. Mustaqim, father's name not known.

20. Abdullah, father's name not known.

21. Pehlwan Gul Samad, Mewa Mandi.

22. Gul Rehman son of Sher Dil.

23. Rehmata son of Karim, died in Bajori Gate Hospital.

24. Gul Khan, father's name not known, Stranger.

25. Mohammad Ashraf, father's name not known, Kabuli.

26. Daud Mian, stranger.

27. Ghulam Jan son of Juma Khan, Mohalla Sheikhan, Peshawar.

28. Mohammad Ramzan, father's name not known, stranger.

29. Fazal Din son of Mohammad Bakhsh, District Hazara.

30. Ilahi Bakhsh son of Fazal Ahmed, Namak Mandi.

31. Agha Mohammad son of Umar Bakhsh, Vegetable-seller, Peshawar.

32. Mohammad Afzal, father's name not known, stranger.

33. Fazal Mohammad son of Nur Mohammad, Shahbaz, stranger.

34. Mohammad Din, father's name not known, Punjabi stranger.

35. Dilawar Khan, father's name not known, stranger.

36. Akram son of—, stranger.

37. Abdul Ghafur Khan, stranger from Hazani Khwani, originally of Afghanistan.

38. Baidullah, stranger.

39. Daud Shah, Mahmond, Mewa Mandi.

40. Karim Shah son of Daud Shah, Mewa Mandi, Swati.

41. to 53. Thirteen Mussalman strangers whose names could not be found.

54. Mata Khan, of Ganj, Grass-seller.

55. Abdul Wahid, Chaudhri, Jahangirpura.

56. Faqir Mohammad Nanbai, Mohalla Bhawani Das, Peshawar.

57. Abdul Ghaffar, father's name not known, Ganj.

58. Dal Gul, from Afghanistan.

59. L. Daswandhi Ram son of Chhetar Mal, Mohalla Eujan Rai.

60. Apprentice of Baij Nath, Tailor of Lachi Teri, Dist. Dera.

The Wounded:—

1. Abdullah, Mohalla Reti, Peshawar.

2. Abdul Shakur, stranger.
3. Mohammad Yasin.
4. Khafi Mullah son of Amirullah of village Deh Bahdur.
5. Maulvi Abdul Halim son of Abdul Hakim, Mohalla Ganj.
6. Pehlwan Mani, of Mewa Mandi.

Total number of wounded 38.

Kishen Chan a Hindu.

Bhagat Singh son of Bur.

Maze right hand injured.

Gopi Chand son of Buddhu, petition-writer.

29-4-1930 Written by Ilahi Bux.

Signed by witness in the presence of the Committee.

29-5-1930 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit J

WEEKLY SARHAD PESHAWAR, PAGE 7
29th April 1930

1-6-30

Proud are we of the children who sacrificed themselves for the country and the nation.

LIST OF MARTYRS

The following glorious sons of the country fell victims to the bullets of the British wild beasts for the sake of their country and nation.

1. A swati, name unknown.
2. A stranger, Mohalla Bhawanidas.
3. Akram Khan son of Shafur, Swati.
4. Abdul Jamil son of Saud.
5. Fazal Rahman son of Sultan of Jatan.
6. Vali Mohd. son of Jumma Khan of Hoti Mardan.
7. Malang Shah son of Ahmad of Kakran.
8. Kamar Gul son of Khan Gul of Gulab Khana.
9. Abdul Majid son of Rahim Bux of Gulab Khana.
10. Mohammad Alam son of Fazal Nur of Sarai Abdul Latif.
11. Pir Mohammad son of Mohammad Barin of Gulab Khana.

12. Gul Mohammad son of Gulam Jilani of Gandi Vehra.

13. Safdar son of Jamal of Kachari Village.

14. Mustqim father's name unknown of Mohalla Kakran.

15. Abdullah, father's name unknown a stranger of Mohalla Kakran.

16. Pehlwan Gul father's name unknown, stranger of Mohalla Kakran.

17. Gul Rahman son of Sher Dil, stranger, of Mohalla Kakran.

18. Gul Khan father's name unknown, stranger, Namak Mandi.

19. Mohammad Ashraf, father's name unknown, of Namak Mandi.

20. Gulam Jan son of Jumma Khan of Sheikhan.

21. Daud Mian, father's name unknown, Hazar Khani.

22. Ramzan, stranger, Hazara, Mandi.

23. Fazal Din, son of Mohammad Bakhsh, District Hazara.

24. Mohammad, Afzal, father's name unknown, stranger.

25. Agha Mohammad, son of Umar Bux, Mohalla Dabgari.

26. Fazal Mohammad son of Nur Mohammad Sarai Shah Baz.

27. Mohammad Din, father's name unknown, Mohalla Kachi.

28. Dilawar, father's name unknown, stranger.

29. Akram, father's name unknown, stranger.

30. Ghafur Khan father's name unknown. Hazar Khani.

31. Zaidullah, a stranger.

32. Karim Shah son of Daud Shah, a stranger.

33. Mada Khan, father's name unknown, Dhakki Nal Bandi.

34. Abdul Ahad son of Mohammad, Mohalla Chakla.

35. Faqir Mohammad father's name unknown, Mohalla Bhawanidas.

36. Abdul Ghafar father's name unknown, Mohalla Ganj.

37. Daud Gul, father's name unknown, Saro Zai.

38. Dulang father's name unknown, Ganj.

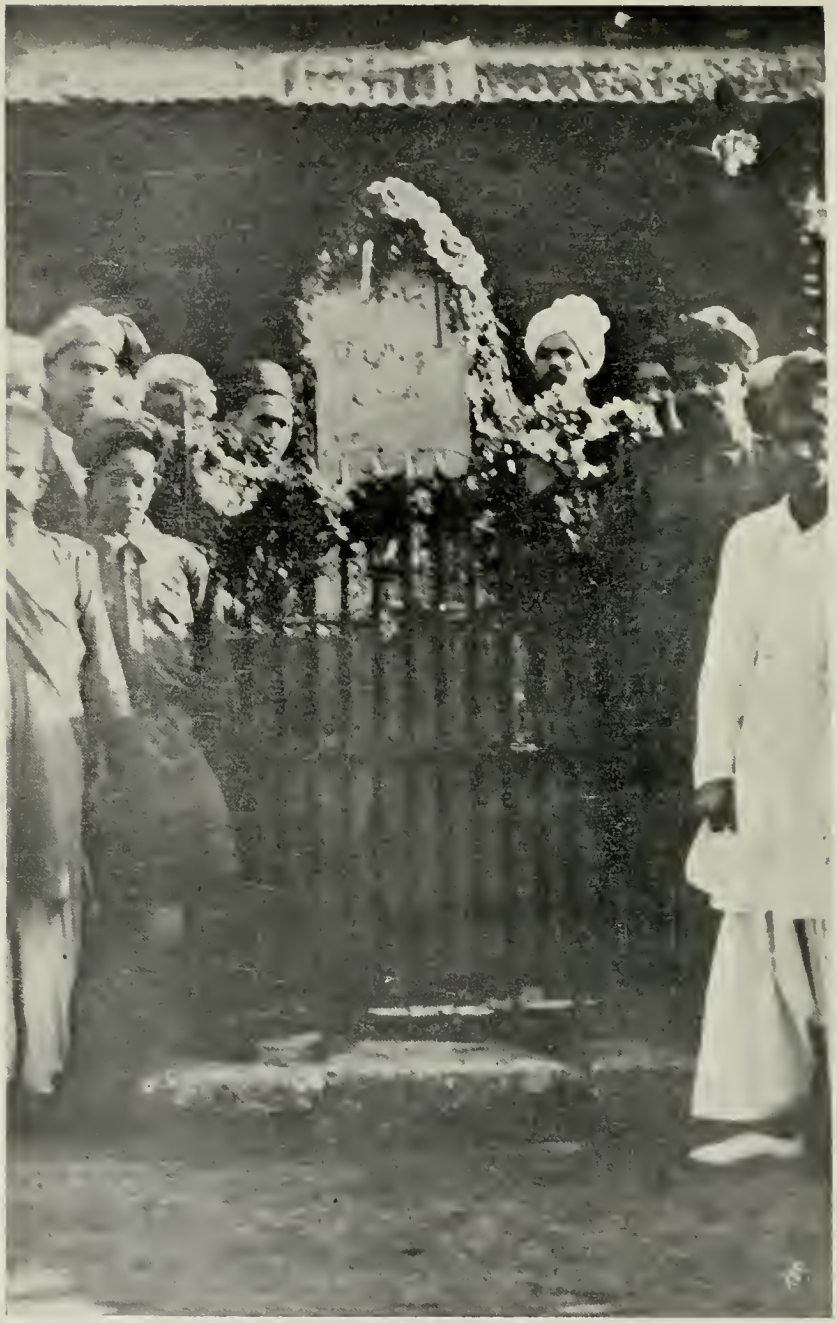
39. Shah Afzal, father's name unknown, Nahaqi.

40. Said Mohammad father's name unknown of Ilaqa Pindi Chep.

41. A Swati, stranger, of Mohalla Bhawanidas.

42. Name unknown.

Exhibit K



Martyrs' Memorial on which were inscribed the words "In memory of martyrs for the liberty of India, Peshawar, 23rd April 1930." Erected on 27th April 1930, demolished by Government on 19th May 1930. (Vide witnesses No. 50 and 55)

43—45. Buried by the Hospital servants. Names will be published later on.

46—59. These forteen Martyrs from 46 to 59 included a woman. Their names could not be entered as the villagers took away their bodies from the volunteers on their way.

60. Mustrim, son of Fazal, of Chini Payan.

61. A Hindu young man.

62. A sikh youngman.

KHILAFAT VOLUNTEERS MARTYRED

Exhibit L

Picture of the Martyrs' Memorial, with the inscription, Beyadgar Shahidane Azadie Hind, Peshawar, 23rd April 30, (In memory of the martyrs for the freedom of India, Peshawar, 23rd April 1930) at page 7 of the *Frontier Advocate* dated 6th May 1930. (Vide witness No. 50).

1-6-1930 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

cleaning his rifle. He had forgotten that there was a cartridge in the breech. The rifle thus accidentally went off and the case against this soldier will immediately be taken up by a Magistrate.

The Chief Commissioner expresses great regret at this hapening and conveys his heart-felt sympathy to S. Ganga Singh with an assurance that the sad occurrence will be fully recompensed at the earliest possible opportunity.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit N

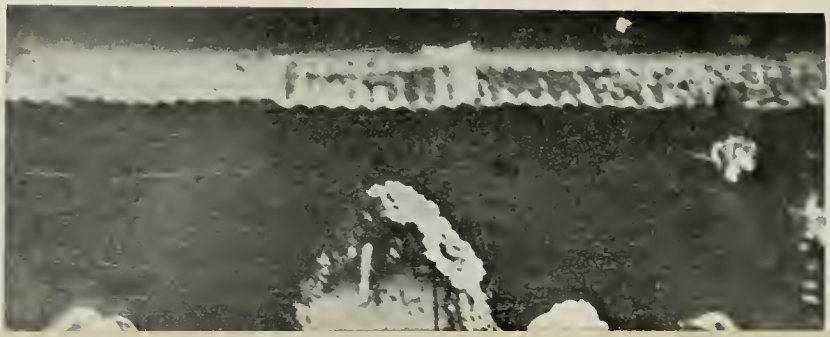
LIST OF THE MARTYRS OF PESHAWAR

Dated 31-5-30

DEATHS—

1. Faqir Mohammad Malhall Mohalla Basu. Young.

Exhibit K



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61. A Hindu young man.

62. A sikh youngman.

KHILAFAT VOLUNTEERS MARTYRED

Those who were themselves martyred while removing the dead bodies.

1. Lale, son of Sher Dil, Mohalla Mochi Pura.

2. Mohammad Said, son of Fazal, Dabgari.

3. Ilahi Bux, son of Mohammad Sadiq, (student Islamia college).

4. Mir Ghulam Gani Shah, son of Mohammad Tuab Shah, Mohalla Bajauri.

5. Abdul Majid, son of Phulo, Gadi Khana.

Upto this time 35 persons are missing. There are about 300 wounded persons.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit M

NOTICE

It is notified for general information that the cause of the wounding of the wife of Sardar Ganga Singh and the death of his children was the accidental firing of a rifle. A soldier was cleaning his rifle. He had forgotten that there was a cartridge in the breech. The rifle thus accidentally went off and the case against this soldier will immediately be taken up by a Magistrate.

The Chief Commissioner expresses great regret at this hapening and conveys his heart-felt sympathy to S. Ganga Singh with an assurance that the sad occurrence will be fully recompensed at the earliest possible opportunity.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit N

LIST OF THE MARTYRS OF PESHAWAR

Dated 31-5-30

DEATHS—

1. Faqir Mohammad Malhall Mohalla Basu. Young.

2. Mohammad Bakhsh Tasbigar, Mohalla Gadikhana. Young.

3. Tulla Mohammad son of Haji Mohammad, Hashtnagri Gate.

4. Haji Gul son of Haji Mohammad, Young.

5. Chiman Lal son of Nikka Mal Dallal, Rampura, Young.

6. Abdul Majid son of Faqir Mohammad, Mohalla Basu.

7. Faqir Mohammad son of Ibrahim.

8. Attar Sing son of Sher Singh, Dhakki Dalgaran.

9. A Pathan (unknown).

10. Haji Mohammad son of Khan Mohammad.

WOUNDED:—

1. Abdul Jalil son of Faqir Mohammad, Machhi Hata.

2. Majid son of Mohammad Zaman.

3. Wazir Mohammad son of Haji Mohammad, Shraf Khana.

4. Fazal Ilahi, son of Ghulam Qadir, Bersarkai.

5. Mohammad Ashraf, son of Fazal Din.

6. Habibullah, son of Amir Khan.

7. Gopal Singh, son of Arjan Singh, Mohalla Seva Das.

8. Abdul Qaum, son of Sultan Mohammad.

9. Taj Mohammad, son of Mian Mohammad, Mohalla Buldran.

10. Din Mohammad, son of Hazur Mohammad, Mohalla Sahibzada Fazal Haq.

11. Abdul Rashid son of Noor Mohammad, Dhakki Nalbandi.

12. Shaikh Mian Mohammad, son of Faiz Mohammad.

13. Sultan Mohammad son of Fazal Razak, Guni.

14. Jan Mohammad, son of Faqir Mohammad, Mohalla Kullan Majid.

15. Haji son of Mirza, Garikhana.

DEATHS:—

11. Son of Sardar Ganga Singh.

12. Daughter of Sardar Ganga Singh.

WOUNDED:—

16. Asa Ram, son of Nihal Chand, Insurance Agent, Peshawar.

17. Karam Chand, Book-seller, Peshawar.

18. S. Sunder Singh, son of Karam Singh (Villager).

19. Abdul Majid, son of Faqir Mohammad, Machhi Hatta, Peshawar.

20. Karam Chand son of Bishan Das.

21. Faqir Mohammad, son of Mian Mohammad, Mohalla Baldaran, Peshawar.

22. Wife of Sardar Ganga Singh.

1-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit O

The Khilafat Committee, Peshawar, has issued the following statement regarding the disturbances on the 31st May 1930

At about quarter past nine a.m., the sound of firing was heard on the occasion of a tonga entering the Kabuli Gate. Simultaneously plaintive shrieks and cries emanated from the tonga. On enquiry it transpired that a Sikh gentleman with his wife and children was seated in the tonga. His two year old son and ten-year old daughter had been shot down with a bullet and his wife received deep wounds on her breast. The Sikh himself with his one boy was seated in the front seat and consequently escaped the bullet. The tonga was immediately stopped, the Sikh alighted with his daughter who lay dead by that time, and having placed her on the ground, clung to his wife and other children. Meanwhile a military officer deputed a batch of police on the spot to prevent the rush of crowd in that area. The dead and wounded persons were taken into the police station. It was found that the shot was fired by a British soldier. The news spread in the city like wild fire and there was considerable excitement in the Kissa Khani Bazar. A crowd gathered to demand the dead bodies then under custody and all shops were immediately closed. The military was at once called in, which presented all the gruesome scenes that are the result of such a reign of terror. The Khilafat workers constantly endeavoured to disperse the crowd and preached absolute peace and non-violence. The people persisted in their demand for the dead bodis while the Sikh soldiers began to molest them, some of whom now proceeded to Dhakki Nalbandi and others went up to their balakhanas, when the Khilafat workers gave them an assurance that they would recover the dead bodies shortly, there was perfect calm. Mirza Mohammad Salim Khan, a prominent Khilafatist, and Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi made a successful attempt to recover the dead bodies while Maulvi Abdul Hakim, President, Khilafat Committee, and Haji Abdurrahim, a Khilafat worker, exhorted the people to keep the peace. When religious rites were performd upon the dead bodies at Shahid Bunga, the people accompanied the "arthi" (funeral) to Garikhana, whence

they proceeded to Ganj. When they reached Gorkhatri, Mirza Mohammad Salim took an oath of non-violence from the mob who remained perfectly non-violent to the very last. When they got as far as Mohalla Dhallan, the British soldiers opened fire on the helpless and peaceful crowd, putting an end to many innocent lives. Inspite of the fact that leading men made it clear to the authorities that the mob was simply taking the "arthi" to its destination and there was no prospect whatsoever of any untoward happening, they seemed so at their wits ends that nothing could deter them from indiscriminately slaying harmless persons. In short, scores of dead bodies and injured persons were removed from the road by the Khilafat volunteers who brought them to the Khilafat office on charpais and stretchers. On this very occasion some bullets were showered from Gorkhatri on various houses in Mohalla Gandi Wera. People thronged to the Khilafat Maidan to have a look at the dead bodies whereupon their relatives identified their persons and took them to their respective places.

(Sd.) Moulvi Abdul Hakim
President
Khilafat Committee, Peshawar City

Office of the Khilafat Committee, Peshawar,
1st June, 1930.

2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit P
List of Casualties

1. Faqir, resident Mohalla Baru.
2. Mohamad Bux, resident Gadi Khana.
3. Tila Mohamad, son of Haji Mohamad of Hashtnagri.
4. Haji Gul, son of Haji Mohamad of Gunj.
5. Chamanlal, son of Nikka Mal of Karimpura.
6. Awtar Singh, of Dalgaran.
7. Haji Mohamad, son of Khan Mohamad of Hastnagri Gate.
8. Abdul Majid, son of Faqir Mohamad, Mohalla Baru.
9. Faqir Mohamad, son of Ibrahim, Mohalla Baru.
10. Name unknown.

2-6-30 (Sd.) Abdul Jalil Nadvi
2-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit Q

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Shah Sulaiman and
the Honourable Mr. Justice Panckridge.

Sirs,—We the undersigned have the honour to make the following submissions for your information:—

We are confident that you intend to conduct an independent and impartial inquiry into the sad events which occurred on the 23rd April 1930. It is this confidence that encourages us to write this letter. We hope that sufficient attention will be given to this our letter.

1. The arrival of your Committee and the date of the commencement of proceedings are not yet fully known to the people with the exception of the newspaper-reading public, the people in general do not know the object of your Committee nor do they know when and how the proceedings are to begin. The Local Authorities issued notices after 12 mid-day on the 21st May 1930 in the English language which notified that statements should be recorded before Mr. Kirkbryde, Magistrate, 1st Class, on the 20th, 21st and 22nd. Two days were thus wasted before the notice calling for evidence was published. Thus if the Government is able to get any evidence it will be of persons of its own choice.

2. The people objected to record their statements before Mr. Kirkbryde as they apprehended that in case they gave evidence against the Government they would be subjected to hardships and for this reason a large majority of persons, whose evidence could have thrown light on the facts, could not make their statements.

3. The posters were published only in English and those too within the city of Peshawar, inspite of the fact that in the happenings of the 23rd April 1930 the number of villagers killed and wounded was larger. The local inhabitants know Urdu and Pashto ony, but no posters or notices in these languages were distributed or affixed.

4. In the present state of things which is that of semi-Martial Law, the people have no faith that they would be safe from official highhandedness if they gave evidence against the authorities. People also express their fear that if they made statements against Government officers, they might not be dealt with under the ordinary Law but special repressive Laws of the Frontier would be brought into motion and securities under Section 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulations would be demanded from them and they would be turned out of the district or the Province under Section 36 of the said act while others would be either bound down or externed from the Province under the provisions of the Frontier Security Act 1922 or subjected to other

harrassing restrictions.

5. We have confidence in both of you gentlemen, but the people cannot be satisfied until there is a non-official majority sitting with you.

6. People are also dissatisfied and are prepared to appear before you as the terms of your enquiry are very limited that is to say they are restricted to the events of the 23rd April 1930, whereas the atrocities practised by the Government officers and the military against the inhabitants from 23rd April 1930 up-to-date are still being carried on with the utmost rigour and they need to be fully investigated.

7. A great number of gentlemen whose evidence would have been most useful for your Committee are either in the custody of Government or are undergoing sentences of imprisonment in jails.

8. There is a large number of wounded persons lying in the hospital who are to a great extent under the influence of the authorities and therefore their evidence is not independent.

9. If persons who are under-trial prisoners give evidence against the authorities it would excite the authorities and it would adversely affect the cases now pending before them.

10. As long as the Seditious Meetings Act is in force, as long as no gathering is possible owing to the application of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and as long as the City is in the occupation of the troops, it will be most difficult for you to obtain any independent evidence.

11. We have come to know that the inhabitants of Peshawar have, for the above reasons, boycotted your Committee. Only those who are connected with the Administration in any manner and those under official influence will appear before you.

12. Although your Committee has afforded an opportunity to the relatives of the killed and the wounded to appear by counsel if they cannot personally attend, yet, the people cannot avail themselves of the chance owing to their extreme poverty.

We, for the above mentioned reasons, submit most respectfully that you may be pleased to postpone your enquiry till such time when the former state of things is restored and the Government reconstitutes the Committee after reconsideration and also extends its terms of reference, so that the people might appear before the Committee to give evidence with the fullest confidence and the true facts may be brought to light.

We are, Sir,
Yours, etc., etc.

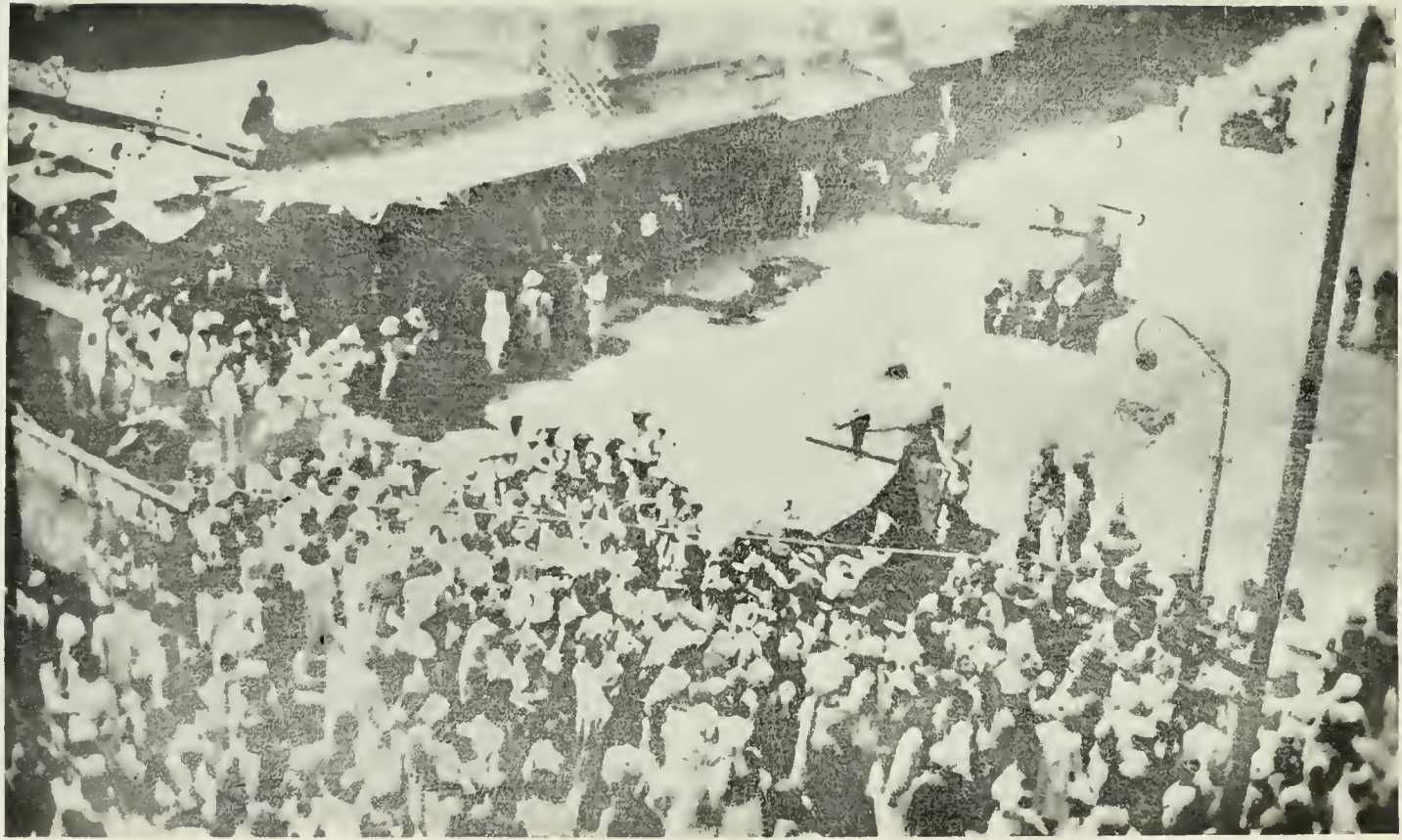
Sd. Abdul Karim
Sd. Mohammad Rafiq
Sd. Fazal Mahmud
Sd. Abdul Aziz

Exhibit R

(Relevant portions from map of Peshawar city and Cantonment)

INSERT FOLD-OUT OR MAP HERE!

Exhibit T



Scene showing unarmed crowd face to face with the military at Dhaki Nalbundi in Kissa Khani Bazar (now known as Shahidi Bazar) before the second firing. (Vide witnesses Nos. 55 and 62)

Sd. Ghulam Mohammad
Sd. K. C. Kapur
Sd. Devi Ditta
Sd. Chuni Lall
Sd. Awtar Singh
Sd. Ilahi Bux
Sd. Khuda Bux
Sd. Gian Singh
Sd. Abdul Rahman
Sd. Abdul Rafiq
Sd. Chuni Lal

Sd. Mohammad Ayub
Sd. Sagar Chand
Sd. Guranditta
Sd. Ram Chand
Sd. Mohammad Refiq
Sd. G. Singh
Sd. Dilbagh Rai
Sd. Karam Singh
Sd. Hafiz Ghulam Rasul
Sd. Dr. Rajindra Nath
Sd. Abdul Rahim

2-6-30

(Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit S

Victoria Memorial Hall, Peshawar

Memo

28th May 1930

It is proposed to take your evidence before the Committee of Enquiry at the Victoria Memorial Hall on Thursday the 29th May, 1930.

Will you kindly arrange to be present at 11 a.m. on that day.

L. Ram Chand,

Motor Driver, Peshawar

Secretary

(Sd.) (ILLEGIBLE)

Enquiry Committee, Peshawar

2-6-30

(Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit V

Certified that we the undersigned in compliance with the request of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee, examined one Ram Chand, son of Sukha Singh, who is said to have been injured at Peshawar and find that he has the following injuries on his person.

1. One bullet wound on the inner side of left knee.

2. One bullet wound on the upper and outer side of right thigh.

3. Fracture of the lower portion of the spine suggests that something heavy probably a wheel has passed over the place resulting in paralysis of both lower extremities.

4. Two bruise marks on the left scapular region.

(Sd.) Dina Nath Kohli, M.B.B.S.,
Superintendent, Dayanand Union Hospital
Rawalpindi

(Sd.) S. Bindra, *Captain*
Signature Illegible, M. B. B. S.

Rawalpindi, 2nd June, 1930.
7-45 p.m.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit W

List of the Martyrs and wounded of Peshawar who on 23rd of April 1930, became the victims of the bullets, the machine-guns and atrocities of the tyrannical **Bolton regime.—**

1. Agha Mohammad alias Talanga son of Mamzai of Mohalla Kotla Rashid Khan, Ilaqa Ganj. *Killed.*
2. An unknown person from masho Khelan *Killed.*
3. An unknown person, of Maira Kachauri Arab Sahib *Killed.*
4. Ilahi Bux son of Mohammad Sadiq, student, 10th class, Collegiate School, Mohalla Sabzi Mandi Ganj (A Khilafat Volunteer). *Killed.*
5. Ali Ahmed son of Taj Mohammad of Afghanistan Khas Kabul, resident Mohalla Kashmiri, Ilaqa Ganj. *Missing.*
6. Abdul Halim son of Abdul Hakim, resident Mohalla Mulla Fazal, House No. 917 (two bullets in the leg and one in thigh) *Wounded.*
7. Gul Mohammad son of Mian Jani, Zamindar, Mohalla Gandi Vehra. *Killed.*
8. Mohammad Unnas son of Mian Mohammad Bux, Gandi Vehra, House No. 2127 (wounded by bullet leg amputated). *Wounded.*
9. Mir Dost son of unknown servant of Sayed Mohammad Shah, Mohalla Muqarab Khan, House No. 766 (Wounded in the leg). *Wounded.*
10. Mohammad Jamil son of Dilawar, occupation Bhishti, Mohalla Muqarab Khan, House No. 687, wounded. *Wounded.*
11. Alam son of Mohammad Sadiq, age 20, Mohalla Mirpura Yakka Tut, House No. 2024,

(crushed under the armoured car and wounded). *Wounded.*

12. Faqir Mohammad, son of Mota Vali, residence Hazara, at present Mohalla Jatan, (hand injured by a bullet from revolver). *Wounded.*

13. Ghulam Jan son of Juman Khan, Mohalla Sheikhan near Church, House No. 10, (shot in the ribs). *Wounded.*

14. Fazal Din, son of person unknown, timber cutter, Mandi-Saran Singh, Lakkar Mandi, (shot in the thigh). *Wounded.*

15. Vali Ghai, stranger, buried in Akhun Sahib by Sar Gul, etc. *Killed.*

16. Wazir Mohmad son of Mehr Dil, Mohalla Jahangir Pura, House No. 3214. *Wounded.*

17. Feroz Din of Hangoo at present guest of Agha Safdar Jan. *Missing.*

18. Abdul Rahman alias Mani son of Subhani Mohalla Barh, House No. 3094. *Wounded.*

19. Ghulam Mohmad son of Swab Mohalla Balauri Kalan. *Killed.*

20. Abdul Qayum alias Mitha son of Abdul Khalaq Mohalla Chamba Bazar Bhagu Shah *Wounded.*

21. Sher Salam son of unknown person, residence Bhana Mari. *Missing.*

22. Rahim Gul, son of Bazo, residence Bhana Mari wounded after being crushed under the armoured car). *Wounded.*

23. An unknown man after being wounded went to China with his companions. *Wounded.*

24. An unknown man after being wounded went to China with his companions. *Wounded.*

25. Nuri, son of unknown person, guest of Zaman Shah resident of Bhana Mari. *Missing.*

26. Sardar son of Piran Ditta Khakrob Bajauri Gate *Killed.*

27. Hamid, son of Hira Khakrob Bajauri Gate. *Missing.*

28. Hayat son of Wadhawa Khakrob Bajauri Gate. *Missing.*

29. Malang Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, Mohalla Kikram. *Killed.*

30. Sher Vali, son of Qazam Khan, Mohalla Kikran (Wounded after being crushed under armoured car.) *Wounded.*

31. Jamil, son of Musali, Sarai Arbab Sahib near Dabgari Gate (shot in the neck). *Wounded.*

32. Name unknown servant of Giyan Chand (shot in the chest) residence Mohalla Loharan. *Wounded.*

33. Tila Mohmad son of Taj Mohmad Nan-Bai Mohalla Loharan. *Missing.*

34. Daswandi Ram son of L. Per Mal (crushed to death under the armoured car.) *Killed.*

35. Roora, servant, Committee, age 14 (Christian) *Missing.*

36. Sardar (Christian). *Missing.*

37. Hayat, servant in a Workshop age 17 years (Christian). *Missing.*

38. Gul Ji son of Ghulam Rabbani Mohalla Asu Dat. *Wounded.*

39. Faqir Mohamad, Mohalla Jattan. *Wounded.*

40. Mohmad Yaqub son of Fazal Qadar resident Machhi Hatta (Khilafat and Congress volunteer.) *Wounded.*

41. Ghulam Hussain son of Mian Khan Mohalla Sarai Mufti Latif. *Killed.*

42. Qamar Gul son of Khan Gul, Kochwan, Mohalla Gulab Khana. *Killed.*

43. Ahmad Ullah, Mohalla Gulab Khana. *Wounded.*

44. Sardar son of Piran Ditta Mohalla Gulab Khana. *Missing.*

45. Tegh Ali, stranger, killed under the balconey of Andlib. *Killed.*

46. Sher Baz son of Shah Baz Kochi Umar Khel, Sarai Ibrahim. *Killed.*

47. Umar Khan son of Gul Mohmad Khan Resident Laghman Sarai Ibrahim. *Killed.*

48. Karim, father's name not known, Nimak Mandi. *Missing.*

49. Sher Baz, son of unknown Nimak Mandi. *Missing.*

50. Mohamanda, father's name not known, caste Mohmand residence Sarai Ghani, Nimak Mandi. *Killed.*

51. Sher Baz, father's name unknown, Sarai Karam Chand, Nimak Mandi, resident of a foreign Ilaqa. *Killed.*

52. Umar Khel, Ilaqa Ghar Sarai Karam Chand. *Killed.*

53. Haji, stranger, Sarai Ghulam Rasul Abdul Ghafur. *Killed.*

54. Agha Khan, son of Zarif, caste Tajak, residence

	Nimak Mandi.	*Killed.*
55.	Ch: Adaula son of Mohmad But caste Kashmiri, residence Chakla.	*Killed.*
56.	Joshim, Postani, residence Chakla.	*Wounded.*
57.	Samdho, Waterman, residence Chakla.	*Wounded.*
58.	Khan Mohmad, Mohalla Sirkian.	*Wounded.*
59.	Gul Mohmad, Mohalla Sirkian.	*Wounded.*
60.	Rahim Gul, residence outside Hashtnagri Gate.	*Missing.*
61.	Mohmad Din, residence Mohalla Rahmat Ullah.	*Wounded.*
62.	Mohmad Ramzan, son of Sardar, Mohalla Rahmat Ullah.	*Wounded.*
63.	Abdul Majid, son of Bholu, Ghari Khana.	*Killed.*
64.	Mustqim, residence Ajroi Mohalla Pantan near Sabz Pir.	*Killed.*
65.	Ghulam Nabi, tea-seller, Dhaki Nal Bandi.	*Wounded.*
66.	Ziarat Gul, son of Said Gah, residence Swat present residence Sarai Ner Yaya Shah.	*Killed.*
67.	Abdul Gafar son of Kasim Khan, Nangar Resident of Afghanistan Mohalla Dalgaran.	*Killed.*
68.	Pir Dost, resident of Swat, Gher Band Kot.	*Wounded.*
69.	Dev Raj alias Tota Ram, residence Bannu pupil Bheja Tailor, Mohalla Dhaki Dalgaran.	*Killed.*
70.	Masta, stranger, residence Nal Bandi.	*Killed.*
71.	Shozan, residence Tahsil Nihaqi, at present of Nal Bandi.	*Killed.*
72.	Gopi chand son of Ganga Bishen Mohalla Bogia.	*Wounded.*
73.	Nanak Chand son of Chaju Ram, Mohalla Lahorian.	*Wounded.*
74.	Balwant Singh son of Bhagwat Singh Mohalla Lahorian.	*Wounded.*
75.	Lal Mohamad son of Nur Mohamad under treatment Egerton Hospital.	*Wounded.*
76.	Ram Chand, under treatment in Egerton Hospital.	*Wounded.*
77.	Vali Mohmad son of Jumma under treatment in Egerton Hospital.	*Wounded.*

78. Pir Mohmad son of Mohmad Zarin Mohalla Gulab Khana. *Wounded.*
79. Gul Mohmad, Gulab Khana. *Wounded.*
80. Jumma son of Mer Ullah, Mohalla Ghulab Khana. *Wounded.*
81. Mohamad Din son of Allah Dittah Mohalla Marbi. *Wounded.*
82. Abdul Jalil, under treatment, Egerton Hospital. *Wounded.*
83. Ramzan, a stranger, Nimak Mandi. *Killed.*
84. Idu Gul son of Sultan, caste Shinvari, Sarai Chalu Singh Dabgari Gate. *Missing.*
85. Vajab Shah, age 21 years, Mohalla Moti, Peshawar City. *Missing.*
86. Dalil son of Jahangir, Shamozi Gari, age 29 years (shot dead, body not found). *Killed.*
87. Ghafar Mali, Jaba Wala. *Killed.*
88. An unknown person occupation Gardner, Jaba Wala. *Wounded.*
89. Mohmad Din son of Inayat Ullah residence Mohalla Marviha. *Wounded.*
90. Ram Chand son of Sukha Singh Driver, wounded after being crushed under armoured car). *Wounded.*
91. Yar Mohmad son of Nur Mohmad, residence Sarai Shah Baz, Chiana Seller, *Wounded.*
92. Wali Mohmad, son of Juma, waterman, residence Hoti Mardan. *Killed.*
93. Pir Mohmad son of Zarin Shoemaker Mohalla Gulab Khana. *Wounded.*
94. Gul Mohmad son of Abdul Manan, residence Hashtnagri Gate. *Wounded.*
95. Said Akbar, son of Ali Ahmad, Kot Gundi. *Wounded.*
96. Abdullah son of Saulla. *Wounded.*
97. Mahabut son of Zamir, age 20. *Missing.*
98. Mohmad son of Dilawar Mohalla Chauk Nasir Khan. *Wounded.*
99. Jumma son of Nasib Ullah Nanbai Mohalla Gulab Khana. *Wounded.*
100. Wazir Mohmad Shopkeeper Bazar Jahangir Pura. *Wounded.*
101. Amin Khan son of Azam Khan Contractor Sadar Bazar. *Missing.*

From No: 102 to 107.

Reported by Mohmad Shah Khan son of Malik Jabar, Qasba Bagran Ilaqa Kabul Charakar that Ilam Din, Hashkone, Sharon, resident of Turkistan and three others whose names are not known to me and they are residence of Turkistan and had come for trade purposes to India, out of these three corpse are found while the rest are missing.

108. Rahman Uddin son of Khavar Din, Mohalla Shafi Ullah, Sarasia. *Missing.*

109. Sadullah son of Saif Ullah, village Mulla Khail Doaba. *Missing.*

110. Mian Mohmad son of Nur Mohmad caste Awan Mohalla Nazar Khan. *Missing.*

111 to 113.

It has been reported by Faqir Mohmad residence Abdara that from village Achini Payan, Pata Khalil one is killed and two missing.

114. Ghulam Hussain son of Ghulam Haider. *Missing.*

115. Brother of Gulam Husain son of Gulam Haider. *Missing.*

116. Abdul Ramman Baloch of Quetta thirty years of age *Missing.*

117. Abdul Karim son of Abdul Aziz of Landi Arbab. *Missing.*

118. Ibrahim Cooley caste Usmankhail. *Missing.*

119. Hussain son of Qasim caste Mulla occupation Waterman resident of Kashmir at present resident of Mohalla Gazran Jahangir Pura. *Wounded.*

120. Samad Mir, son of Qasim Mir, caste Mir, occupation Rafu-gari. *Wounded.*

121. Mohmad Sufi son of Qasim Sufi resident of Kashmir Mohalla Gazran, Jani Pura. *Missing.*

122. A unknown resident of Mohalla Bhawani Dass. *Killed.*

123. A Swati of Mohalla Bhawani Dass. *Killed.*

124. Akram Khan, son of Ghafur, Swati, residence Mohalla Daftar Bandan. *Killed.*

125. Abdul Jalil son of Daud Mohalla Takia Singun. *Killed.*

126. Fazal Rahman son of Sultan residence Mohalla Jattan. *Killed.*

127.	Vali Mohmad son of Jumma Khan resident of Hoti Mardan.	*Killed.*
128.	Abdul Majid son of Rahim Bux Mohalla Gulab Khana.	*Killed.*
129.	Mohmad Alam son of Fazal Nur Sarai Abdul Latif.	*Killed.*
130.	Safdar son of Jamal resident of village Kachauri.	*Killed.*
131.	Mustqim, Mohalla Kakran.	*Killed.*
132.	Abdullah, a stranger, Mohalla Kakran.	*Killed.*
133.	Pehlwan Gul, Mohalla Kakran.	*Killed.*
134.	Gul Rahman son of Meher Dil Mohalla Kakran.	*Killed.*
135.	Gul Khan of Nimak Mandi.	*Killed.*
136.	Mohmad Ashraf of Nimak Mandi.	*Killed.*
137.	Daud Mian of Hazar Khani.	*Killed*
138.	Mohmad Afzal, a stranger.	*Killed.*
139.	Fazal Din son of Mohmad Bax of Hazara.	*Killed.*
140.	Agha Mohmad son of Umar Bux Mohalla Dabgari.	*Killed.*
141.	Fazal Mohmad son of Nur Mohmad of Sarai Shah Baz.	*Killed.*
142.	Mohmad Din, Mohalla Kachhi.	*Killed.*
143.	Dilawar, a stranger.	*Killed.*
144.	Akram, a stranger.	*Killed.*
145.	Ghafur Khan resident of Hazar Khani.	*Killed.*
146.	Zaid Ullah, a stranger.	*Killed.*
147.	Karim Shah son of Daud Shah, stranger.	*Killed.*
148.	Madah Khan of Dhaki Nalbandi.	*Killed.*
149.	Abdul Khed son of Mohmad, Mohalla Chakla.	*Killed.*
150.	Faqir Mohmad of Mohalla Bhawani Dass.	*Killed.*
151.	Abdul Ghaffar of Mohalla Ganj.	*Killed.*
152.	Dad Gul of Saro Zai.	*Killed.*
153.	Kulang of Ganj.	*Killed.*
154.	Shah Afzal of Nihaqi.	*Killed.*
155.	Said Mohmad of Ilaqa Pindi Ghape.	*Killed.*
156.	Lale son of Sher Dil Mohalla Cochi Pur (Khilafat Volunteer.)	*Killed.*
157.	Mohmad Sayed son of Fazal, Mohalla Dabgari	

(Khilafat Volunteer.) *Killed.*

158. Mir Ghulam Shah son of Mohmad Swab Shah Mohalla Bajauri (Khilafat Volunteer.) *Killed.*

159. Mustqem son of Fazal of Chini Payan *Killed.*

160. An unknown Hindu youngman. *Killed.*

161. A Sikh youngman name unknown. *Killed.*

162. A woman name unknown. *Killed.*

163. Abdullah son of Jamal of 15 years. *Killed.*

164. Mustqim son of Mohmad of Chini Payan. *Killed.*

165. Gul Jan son of Pir age 30 years Jaji Kakshala Garbi Sard Chah Gate. *Missing.*

167. Abdul Khaliq son of Mir Jan Afghan Kaka Khel age 22 years Dabgari Mohalla Saman Shah Mir Ahmad Shah. *Missing.*

168. Mohmad Shah son of Zarghum Shah, 3 years, Jalalbad village Chaman. *Killed.*

169. Akram Khan son of Jabar Khan. *Missing.*

170. Mst: Shurba wife of Akbar, Masman Tehsil Peshawar, Thana Sadar Station, Makri Bazar. *Missing.*

171. Son of Mst: Shurba 2½ years old. *Missing.*

172. Mst: Dilbaro wife of Shafi Ullah of Badber occupation Zamindari. *Missing.*

173. Son of Mst: Dilbaro 12 years old. *Missing.*

174. Daughter of Mst: Dilbaro 1½ year old. *Missing.*

175. Jamdat Khan Kochi of Independent Territory. *Killed.*

176. Musa son of Rahim Gul of Independent Territory. *Killed.*

177. Madad Khan of Independent Territory. *Wounded.*

178. Jalale of Independent Territory. *Wounded.*

179. Zaman Khan of Independent Territory. *Wounded.*

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit W-1

(1) Ghulam Mustafa and Manohar Lal, Asiya, Bhala Mari, Bazaar Ram Das and Bhagoo Shah and Mandi.

(2) Hafiz Abul Karim and Sardar Kahan Singh, Ganj, Yakka, Tut, Chowk Nasir Khan, Mori Mohalla, Shah Kala, Gandi Vera, Qazi.

(3) Balmokand and Kishen Chand, Ander Shahr, Kissa Khani, Paikar Bazan, Nal Bundi, Outside Kutcheri Gate, upto

(4) Talib Mohiyuddin and Mohammad Din from Rampura Gate, Hashtnagar, Gari Khana, Sabz Pir, Kotla Filban, Karimpura, Kachhi Mohalla.

(5) Ram Nath and Santokh Singh, Rampura, Chakka Galli, Mohalla Sujan Rai, Kucha Bhola Ram, Bara Bazar, Gorkhatri, Pukka Pul etc., etc.

(6) Doctor Jawaher Singh and Mohammad Ramzan, Mochipura, Gulabkhana, Jangi Mohalla, Kucha Gulbadshah.

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit W-2

The following is the report of investigation by Hafiz Abdul Karim Qureshi and Sardar Kahan Singh:—

(1) Agha Mohammad alias Tilanga, son of Amze, resident of Kotla Rashidkhan, Peshawar City. Shot dead on 23rd April and buried.

(2) An unknown person, resident of Mashakhelan. Shot dead on 23rd April and taken to his village.

(3) An unknown person, resident of Maira Kachori Arbab Sahib.

(4) Ilahi Bux, son of Mohammad Saddiq, student of Collegiate School, Class X, of Mohalla Sabzi Mandi, Ilaqa Ganj, house No. 1390. Shot dead on 23rd April.

(5) Ali Mohammad, son of Taj Mohammad, resident of Kabul (Afghanistan) at present residing at Mohalla Kashmiri, Ilaqa Ganj, Peshawar. Missing since 23rd April.

(6) Abdul Halim, son of Abdul Hakim, resident of Mohalla Mullan, near Ilaqa Ganj, house No.917. Suffering from bullet injuries and under treatment in the Hospital.

(7) Gul Mohammad, son of Mian Jani, Zamindar, resident of Mohalla Gandi Vehra, Peshawar City. Shot dead.

(8) Mohammad Yunis, son of Mian Mohammad Bux, resident of Gandi Vehra, house No. 2127. Wounded by bullet in the leg. The leg has been amputated.

(9) Mir Dost, servant of Sayyed Mahmood Shah, Mohalla Mukarrab Khan, House No.766. Wounded by a bullet in the leg.

(10) Mohammad Jamil, son of Dilawar, Bhishti, resident of Mohalla Mukarrab Khan, house No. 687. Bullet injuries in private parts. Now in the Hospital, under treatment.

(11) Alim, son of Sadiq, aged 20 years, resident of Mohalla Mirpura, Yakka Tut, house No. 2024. Wounded by being overrun by an armoured car.

(12) Faqir Mohammad, son of Mutawali, resident of Hazara, at present resident of Mohalla Jattan, Peshawar. Wound-

ed by a revolver shot.

(13) Ghulam Jan, son of Jumma Khan, resident of Mohalla Sheikhan, near Church, house No. 10. Received a shot in the back.

(14) Fazal Din, Timber-cutter, Mandi Sohan Singh, wood-seller, resident of Lakkar Mandi. Received a bullet wound in the lower leg.

(15) Wali Gey, a stranger. Shot dead and buried in Akhwand Sahib.

(Sd.) Hafiz Mohammad-Abdul Karim Qureshi
(*in Urdu*)
(Sd.) Kahan Singh
(*in English*)

The following is the investigation Report of Ghulam Mustafa and Manohar Lal. 25-4-30.

(1) Wazir Mohammad, son of Mehr Dil, Mohalla Jahangirpura, house No. 3214. Shot on the arm.

(2) Ferozuddin, son of unknown person, resident of Hangu, guest of Agha Safdar Jan. Missing since 23rd April.

(3) Abdul Rehman alias Mani, son of Subhani, Mohalla Bar house No. 3094. A bullet wound on the thigh.

(4) Ghulam Ahmed, son of Mohammad Sawab, Mohalla Bajori Kalan. Killed on 23rd April.

(5) Abdul Qayum alias Mitha, son of Abdul Khaliq, Mohalla Kucha Chamba, Bazar Bhagu Shah. Bullet injury on the leg.

(6) Shah Salam, son of unknown person, Bhani Mari. Missing.

(7) Rahim Gul, son of Bazo, Bhana Mari. Injured on the foot by armoured car. Confined to his house.

(8) Two persons names not known, having been injured, left for Chaina.

(9) Nure, father's name unknown, guest of Zaman Shah, resident of Bhana Mari. Missing since 23rd April 1930.

(10) Sardar, son of Piranditta, sweeper, Bajori Gate. Killed on 23rd April 1930.

(11) Hamid, son of Hira sweeper, aged 12 years, resident of Bajori Gate. Missing since 23rd April 1930.

(12) Hayat, son of Wadhawa, sweeper, aged about 20 years, resident of Bajori Gate. Missing since 23rd April 1930.

(13) Malang Shah, son of Ahmed Shah, Mohalla Kakran. Killed on 23rd April 1930.

(14) Sher Wali, son of Qazim Khan, resident of Mohalla

Kakran. Injured on the thigh being overrun by armoured car.

(15) Jamil, son of Musalli, of Sarai Arbab, near Dabgari Gate. Got a bullet wound in the neck.

(16) Servant of Gian Chand. Wounded by bullet in the chest.

(17) Tur Mohammad, son of Taj Mohammad, Nanbai, resident of Mohalla Loharan. Missing since 23rd April 1930.

(18) Ghulam Jan, son of Juma Khan. Bullet wound on the ribs. Under treatment in the Mission Hospital.

Note:—

There are a few men under the treatment of Doctor Awtar Singh in Mohalla Jogan Shah whose names are not known to us. To-morrow the names will be found out, through the Doctor. Two more men who were injured are at Dheri. Their names will be submitted to the office to-morrow.

(Sd.) GHULAM MUSTAFA

Investigation report of Volunteers Santokh Singh and Ram Nath regarding Pul Pukka, Mohalla Reti, Mohalla Kaka Jamadar, Digar Mohalla, Chikka Galli, Mohalla Tallan and other Mohallas:—

(1) Mohalla Sujarat Marg, L. Daswandi Ram, son of L. Pair Mal, Khatri, killed being overrun by armoured car.

(2) Mohalla Kaka Jamadar Mister, residing in Sarai Mufti. Three persons of his are missing. Their names are (1) Rura aged 14 years, servant of Municipal Committee, (2) Sardara aged 19 years.

(3) Hayat, aged 17 years, servant of the Workshop. All these were Christians.

(3) Mohalla Aso Datt, person named Galliji, son of Ghulam Rabbani. Wounded.

(4) Mohalla Jattian, Faqir Mohammad, serving in Reti Mohalla. Wounded.

(5) A Congress Volunteer, named Mohammad Yaqub, son of Fazl-i-Qadir, wounded while serving the people.

(Sd.) SANTOKH SINGH

The following is the report submitted by Sardar Doctor Jawahir Singh and Mohammad Ramzan:—

Mohalla Sarai Mufti Latif:—

1. Ghulam Husain and Mian Khan, killed.

2. Qamar Gul, son of Khan Gul, Kochwan, aged 20 years, killed.

3. Ahmed wounded in the waist.

4. Pir Mohammad, son of Zarrin, aged 22 years. Bullet wound on the leg.

5. Mohammad Asaw, son of Gul Nur, aged 16 years, died of two bullet shots, one in the throat and the other in the waist.

6. Sardara, son of Piranditta, missing.

7. Hamid, son of Hara, Jamadar, missing.

8. Hayat, son of Wadhawa, missing.

9. Juma wounded and in the hospital.

10. Hassamudin, son of Chaukidar, missing.

11. Shahbaz, son of Sherbaz, of Sarai Tara Singh, missing.

12. Abdul Hamid, son of Rahim Bakhsh, aged 19 years, killed.

Sarai Ibrahim:—

13. Five men of Afghanistan are missing.

14. Tegh Ali died in Namak Mandi.

15. Sher Baz, son of Shahbaz kochi Umar Khel, died of wound.

16. Umar Khan, son of Gul Muhammad Khan Nemani, aged 30 years, has died of wound.

17. Malanga, son of Ahmed Shah, Mohalla Kir, aged 40 years, killed.

Sarai Dhingan, Shersingh Nilwala:—

18. Karim, son of Sher Baz, missing.

Sarai Ghani:—

19. One Mahmond whose name is not known killed.

Sarai Karam Chand:—

20. Sher Baz, of Umar Khel killed.

Sarai Ghulam Rasul and Abdul Ghafur:—

21. One Haji traveller killed.

Namak Mandi:—

22. Agha Khan Zarif, of Tajak tribe killed.

Thathi Bazar:—

23. Chaudhri Adula, son of Mahdiyat, caste Kashmiri, killed.

24. Josham Kohistani (Hill man), wounded and lying in his house.

25. Hamidu Bhishti, wounded and lying at home.

(Sd.) JAWAHER SINGH BEDI,
Joint Secretary,
City Congress Committee

Investigation report of Talib Mohayyuddin and Mohammad-uddin for the following area:—

Mohalla Sirkiyan:—

In the house of Khan Mohammad.—

1. Gul Mohammad Khan, wounded, has been taken to Egerton Hospital.

Outside Hashtangri Gate:—

2. In the Sarai, Rahim Gul Adam is missing.

3. Mohayyuddin wounded is in the hospital.

Mohalla Rahamatullah:—

4. Mohammad Ramzan, son of Zardad wounded and taken to the hospital.

Hashtangri:—

5. Abdul Majid, son of Kubhar of Garikhana, killed.

Mohalla Pantan near Suz Pir

6. Mustaqim Aziri, killed.

Dhakki Nalbandi:—

7. Ghulam Nabi, Teaseller and labourer, killed.

8. Ziarat Gul, resident of Swat, killed.

Mohalla Beldaran:—

9. Abdul Ghaffar, Kabuli, killed.

26-4-30 (Sd.) TALIB MOHAYYUDDIN
(Sd.) MOHAMMAD DIN
3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit W-3

A telephone message has been received in No. 13 Infantry Brigade that they should remain ready. It appears that there has been or is going to be some trouble at Kohat.

Reporter:—Amin Khan.

Sir Aazam Khan, contractor, Saddar Bazar. Missing since 23-4-30. Either wounded or died in the disturbance of 10-30 o'clock on 23-4-30.

Bahadur Singh, son of Sardar Narain Singh, Saddar Bazar, Peshawar.

(1) Army of Khataks has been sent for from Parachinar. It has been circulated by the Government in the said Army that the Hindus and Sikhs of Peshawar city have killed the Mohammedans and buried them in some unknown place. The Congress workers have warned the khataks about this mischievous propaganda so that now they are not prepared to attack the inhabitants of the city.

(2) Dhian Singh, Driver. Bahadur Singh has deputed one Driver named Dhian Singh to find out as to where the dead bodies of the persons killed at 10-30 the first day (23rd April 1930) had been taken.

Afghan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Ahmed Shah Barrister, Haji Shah Nawaz Khan, Khan Sarfaraz Khan, Abdullah Khan have been arrested under Section 40 of the Frontier Crimes and sent to Gujerat Jail. Judgment:—Khan Ali Gul Khan and Abdul Rehman acquitted. Maulana Khan Mir and Achraj Ram sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under Sections 108-114.

Report of Mohammad Shah Khan, son of Malik Jabbar.—Ilam Din. Mushe Kenre and Sharwan, sons of Oghe, residents of Turkistan and three men whose names I do not know belonged to Turkistan. They had come to India for trade. The dead body of one of them has been found the remaining five are missing.

Thumb impression of Mohammad Shah
26-4-30

(1) Mohammad Yunus, son of Mohammad Bakhsh, goldsmith.

This man was wounded at 2 p.m. on 23-4-30. Has 5 bullet wounds in the legs.

Inayatullah, brother of Mohammad Yunus wounded (in the Hospital).

26-4-30 (Sd.) (Illegible)

(2) Syed Akbar, son of Ali Ahmed Swat. Budhmi Kili, was runover by armoured car. He has injuries on the chest as well as legs. The whole chest is full of injuries.

(3) Abdullah, son of Abeddullah Khan. Has bayonet wound on one leg. One foot crushed under armoured car. There is bayonet injury in the hand also. Armoured car passed on the arm as well.

(4) Ramzan, son of Zardad, Mohalla Garikhana, Tasbigarh,

Peshawar.

A bullet mark in the right calf which has pierced through, wounded at 2-30 p.m., on 23-4-1930.

(5) Gopi Chand, son of Lala Ganga Bishen, Mohalla Ander Shaher. Wounded by a shot from the Machine-gun on the right foot at 2-30 p.m., on 23-4-30.

(6) Abdul Zamir, son of Dilawar Mohammad, Chawk Nasir Khan, Bhishti, Mohalla Hori.

One bullet pierced through the left abdomen in the afternoon of 23-4-1930. He is an orphan.

(7) Balwant Singh, son of Bhagat Singh, student, Mohalla Lahorian. A bullet has passed through the left part of abdomen at 2-30 p.m., on 23-4-30.

(8) Mohammad Din, son of Inayatullah, Mohalla Hori Gilkar, a bullet has passed through the right calf. Armoured car also passed over his body, at 10-30 a.m., on 23-4-30.

(9) Ram Chandra, son of Sukha Singh of Bijnore. Driver Kabul Line. Armoured car passed over his body. On the feet and other parts of the body he is wounded by bullets. (Wounded at 10-30 a.m.).

A man had been deputed to look after him at night.

(10) Yar Mohammad, son of Nur Mohammad, Sarai Shah Baz, gram-seller. Wounded by bullet on the foot at 10-30.

(11) Dil Mohammad, son of Jumna, Bhishti of Hoti Mardan. A bullet stuck at the back and passed through on the side of the chest, at 10-30.

(12) Pir Mohammad, son of Zarrin, shoe-maker, Mohalla Gulabkhana. Foot run over by armoured car at 10-30 a.m.

(13) Gul Mohammad, son of Abdul Hanan, Labourer, Hashtnagri Gate, resident of the hills. Received two bullets one passed from the armpit to the other side of the shoulder. The other has passed through the palm of the hand. 10-30 a.m.

(14) Jumma, son of Naqibullah, Nanbai of Gulabkhana. Leg broken under armoured car 10-30 a.m., on 23-4-30.

(15) Wazir Mohammad, shop-keeper, Peshawar city, Bazaar Jahangirpura near shop of Qasim Mohammad, Qassab. One bullet wound.

(16) Abdul Halim, District Nazir. One bullet wound on the right side of abdomen and two bullet wounds on the left calf. There are scraches and bullet wounds on the rest of the body too.

at 1-30 p.m., near the shop of Dr. Bihari Lal in Dhakki Nalbandi.

(Sign of moon and star)

No.————

Tele. "Iqbal".

————192 .

M. Ghulam Yasin Abdul Rahim, General Merchants and Commission Agents, Peshawar City.

Boycott all the Moatbarin and the Mukhbars. Ali Zaman, Mir Zaman, of Abbottabad District received a bullet wound on the foot. They both went to their village.

Report of Abdul Rahim, son of Abdul Aziz, resident of Landi Arbab.

His brother Abdulkarim is missing. Inspite of every effort to find him at the houses of relatives etc. has not been traced.

D|- 27-4-1930 Thumb Impression of the reporter

Report by Anwar Shah, son of Timar, of Mauza Mullakhel Doaba.—

Saadullah, son of Saifullah, aged 30 years. Missing for the last 5 days. He had come to Peshawar City. Great search has been made for him. He was a poor man.

Dated 27-4-1930

Thumb impression of the reporter

Rehmanuddin, son of Khairuddin, Asiya, Mohalla Mufidullah. Missing. His age is 27-28 years. Wheat coloured. Middle sized. He is nephew of the reporter.

Thumb impression of the reporter:—

Fazluddin, reporter, shop-keeper in Gulabkhana.

Dated 28-4-1930

To

The Secretary

Congress Committee

Peshawar

My nephew named Mian Mohammad, son of Nur Mohammad, caste Awan, resident of Mohalla Chowk Nasir Khan, is missing since 23-4-1930. Upto this time no trace has been found of him.

Dated 28th April 1930.

Thumb impression of Ziauddin, grass-seller, Kachehri Gate, Peshawar City .

Report by Mohammad Ashraf, son of Mian Mustaqim.—

Mohammad Saddiq's son Ilahi Bakhsh, aged 20 years, son of a widow. He is very helpless.

Thumb impression.

Address:—Kissa Khani, Mohalla Khudadad.

Abdul Rehman Baloch, of Quetta, aged 30 years, is missing.

Reported by his father.

Dated 27-4-1930

.....Written by Partab Singh

Three martyrs of Ajaini Payan, Tappa Khalil are reported dated 23rd April, 1930. The dead body of one of them has been found. The other two are missing.

(Sd.) Faqir Mohammad, son of Allahdad Khan, resident of Abdara.

One Pathan named Ibrahim, labourer, caste Usman Khel, is missing since 23rd April 1930.

27-4-1930 (Sd.) KAHAN SINGH

Majid, son of Bolu, Mohalla Garikhana, Peshawar, aged 20 years. Killed.

27-4-1930 Reporter, one Mohalladar.

Ziyarat Gul, son of Said Gah, Swati, resident of Nalbandi, Sarai Mir Yasin Shah, aged 22 years. Was shot dead. His mother reported on 27-4-1930.

Thumb impression of Asharaf Jan

Ghulam Hussain, son of Ghulam Haider reports that his brother Ghulam Ali is missing.

Report received through Musa tea-seller, Kissa Khani, Peshawar City.

Dated 27-4-1930

Thumb impression

Letter No. 52, dated 27-4-30

Provincial Shiah Conference

Dear Sir,

The following is a list of the Shiah sufferers from the shooting of the 23rd April 1930:—

(1) Wounded.—Hussain, son of Qasim, caste Mullah, Bhishti, resident of Kashmir, now of Mohalla Gazran. Ilaqa Jahangirpura, employed as Bhishti under the Municipal Committee, Peshawar. He got a bullet in his foot. He is under treatment at home. Condition not dangerous.

(2) Wounded.—Samad Mir, son of Qasim Mir, caste Mir, rafugar, inhabitant of Kashmir now residing in Mohalla Gazaran, Peshawar City. Has two or three wounds on the arm. They are

Exhibit X

Chamanlal shot dead while following the funeral procession of S. Gunga Singh's children on 31st May 1930. (Vide Nikkaram, Chaman Lal's father, witness No. 66)

either from bullet or shot. He is being treated at home. Condition is not dangerous.

(3) Missing.—Mohammad Sufi, son of Qasim Sufi, caste Sufi, inhabitant of Kashmir at present residing in Mohalla Gazran, labourer, servant of Malik Asdo, rafugar.

Any further information will be communicated as received

(Sd.) Aijaz Husain, *Vice-President.*

Provincial Shia Conference, N.-W. F. P.

To

The Congress Office

My brother's son Akram Khan, son of Jabbar Khan is missing. That day there was great disturbance.

Reporter.—Akbar, son of Faqir, servant of Nabu Zamindar, Ilaqa Yakka Tut.

Musammat Sherba, wife of Akbar, Melsman Tehsil, Peshawar, Thana Saddar Station, Makri Bazar, aged 30 years, missing. Paijama of red chintz, green shirt, Dopatta of Malmal. Boy's name Baz Mohammad, son of Akbar, wearing a cap of Akhchin, waist coat of silk torn on one side, shirt of white Malmal, age 21|2 years.

Thumb impression of Akbar

To

The Secretary, Congress Committee

On the 23rd, some Kochis of Transborder area met me outside Ramdas Gate. They were taking away two dead bodies and four wounded men, their names I noted down as follows:—

Killed:—Jumadad Khan and Musa Khan, son of Rahim Gul.

Wounded:—Madad Khan, Jalile, Zaman Khan and Kalmaran.

(Sd.) Faqir Mohammad, son of Nur Ahmed Khan.

Lal Badshah, son of Hayauddin, resident of Shabqadar Dheri. Blue mark on the brow, aged 18 years.

Thumb impression of Mianuddin.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit Y

Peshawar, April 23

The following communique has been issued:—

"A serious riot occurred at Peshawar city to-day. Early this morning, certain political agitators were arrested for various offences, and during the morning crowds collected and rapidly became out of control of the police. Troops had to be called in to restore order, and were eventually compelled to fire on the

mob. Order was restored by 6 p.m. and at present all is quiet. "Casualties to the Government servants include Mr. Metcalfe, Deputy Commissioner, and Mr. Garrod, Assistant Superintendent of Police, who were injured in the face, the latter seriously. One British soldier was killed. It is believed that of the mob about twelve were killed and about the same number of injured have been admitted to hospital."—Associated Press of India.

3-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit Y-1

The following *communique* has been issued:—

The death roll at Peshawar among the rioters now amounts to twenty, which includes four who died of injuries in the Government Hospital. Twenty-one wounded remain under treatment in the Government Hospital and less than twelve in the C. M. S. Hospital. It is believed that a few cases of injuries are still being concealed in spite of assurances that if they come to the hospital for treatment they will not be prosecuted for participation in the riot. This assurance is here reconfirmed.

No further rioting has occurred since April 23. There was a complete *hartal* in the city on April 25 but the shops were open and business was proceeding normally to-day.

The Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Superintendent of Police who were injured are doing well and the former is expected to return to duty in a few days.

Mr. Isemonger, Inspector-General of Police and Mr. Fox, Superintendent of Police, also sustained minor injuries.

The disturbance in Charsadda Tehsil has subsided and there is no reason to anticipate further trouble now that the ring leaders have been arrested and removed.

The transborder tribes are quiet and have shown no inclination to participate in the disturbances.

Quiet has been restored in all stations in the district, though at Landi Kotal there was tension among the Afridis as a result of the death of three Afridis in Peshawar.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit Y-2

Peshawar, May 4.

The following *communique* has been issued:—

Posters and bulletins, issued by the Peshawar Congress Committee on 29th April and subsequent days announced that their organisations were in correspondence with the notorious Haji of

Turangzai, who was, consequently, raising a lashkar of 1,00,000 and advancing with the intention of entering Peshawar district. The Haji did actually leave his home at Lakazai on 28th April and came down on the 30th to Halimzai, an area on the border of the district, where he still is.

His overtures have, however, so far evoked no response from any Mohammedan section. On the contrary, Halimzai and Tarakzai have done their best to discourage him, but he has refused to turn back until requested to do so from Peshawar. A small band of 400 to 500 tribesmen is in attendance on him.

On the strength of this correspondence and of their other revolutionary propaganda the Congress and Naujawan Bharat Sabha organisations at Peshawar were declared unlawful associations. To-day the police, supported by the military, raided their headquarters in the city. All documents found there were impounded. The police also arrested seven leading agitators and ten notorious badmashes, who had made themselves conspicuous as gang leaders. The arrests provoked no resistance, and were effected with little excitement.

Troops are still in occupation of certain portions of the city. In several quarters shops have been opened and business is being conducted as usual.

Afridi Khassadars have co-operated with the police in the maintenance of order; and tribesmen in the city are taking a philosophical view of the situation.

Not a single shot has been fired yesterday.

A fire broke out in Andershahr quarter. This occurred many hours before the troops entered the city. The fire was practically extinguished by the Municipal Fire Brigade.—Associated Press of India.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit Y-3

Peshawar, May 10, (*Delayed*)

Following is a literal translation of the proclamation of the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, which was thrown from aeroplanes and distributed among the people through Tahsildars and Patwaris:

"To Khans, Chiefs and leading men of the district and the city—You people have personally witnessed how the Congress committee has tried and is still trying to upset the system of the Government establishment by the law. If it becomes successful, though there is no hope of its success, what would be the consequences? Is the Congress going to leave with you your landed property, *jagirs* and *muafis*? Is it going to protect your fron-

tiers? Will it maintain law and order amongst the people? Are you willing to come under the sway of the Congress? I am sure that you do not want to be governed by the Congress Committee.

"Now it is high time for you to help the Government, which has ever been benevolent to you and has done justice towards you. What help can you render to the Government? You must prevent Congress voluteers, wearing red jackets, from entering your villages. They call themselves Khudai khidmatgars (servants of God). But in reality they are the servants of Gandhi. They wear the dress of Bolsheviks, and they are nothing but Bolsheviks. They will create the same atmosphere as you have heard in Bolshevik dominion. You can prevent meetings being held in your areas and can help your officials. Do this work at once.

"The Government, as usual, will consider your demands, and remedy your grievances."—Associated Press of India.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit Y-4

Simla, April 27

In view of the attention which has been directed by recent events to Peshawar, the Government of India have thought it proper to issue a *communique* of such facts as are known to them to supplement the communique issued by the local administration. They are not in a position yet to give a fully authoritative version, in detail, but the account now given summarises their present knowledge of the facts.

A serious riot occurred at Peshawar city on 23rd April. Early that day certain political agitators, who composed the local so-called "war council" and who had been directing the civil disobedience movement, were arrested. During the morning disorderly crowds collected and rapidly became out of control of the police. Troops had to be called out to restore order and were eventually compelled to fire on the mob. Order was restored by 6 p.m.

During the course of the day one British despatch rider accompanying the armoured cars was killed.

On 24th and 25th April conditions in the city were again disturbed and a hartal was observed on the 26th. The Chief Commissioner had an interview with the Municipal Commissioners and other citizens who expressed their readiness to co-operate in the restoration of normal conditions. By this time all shops were opened and business was proceeding normally.

The death roll

The death roll among the rioters, as at present ascertained, amounts to 20 which includes 4 who died in the Government hospital of injuries received on the 23rd. Twenty-one wounded are receiving treatment in the Government hospital and 12 in the Mission hospital.

The local authorities believe that a few cases of injuries are still being concealed in spite of the assurance given by the Chief Commissioner that those coming to hospital for treatment of their injuries will not be prosecuted for participation in the riot.

Mr. Metcalfe, Deputy Commisisoner, and Mr. Carrod, Assistant Superintendent of Police, who were injured on 23rd April are doing well, and the former is expected to return to duty in a few days.

Simultaneously with these events at Peshawar city, there was some disturbance at Charsadda where arrests had also been effected. These disturbances have now subsided.

The district of Peshawar is now quiet; and, although the situation still requires vigilance, there is no reason to anticipate further trouble.

The transborder tribes have shown no inclination to participate in the disturbance, and tranquillity prevails on the Frontier generally.

The Chief Commissioner has intimated his intention of instituting a full enquiry without delay.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Exhibit Y-5

FACTS ABOUT PESHAWAR

Government of India Communique

Simla, May 6

As persistent and deliberate attempts are being made by Congress organisations in pursuance of their own ends gravely to misrepresent recent events at Peshawar, the Government of India desire without prejudice to the full enquiry which will shortly be held under the orders of the Chief Commissioner, to place before the public the facts as reported to them. For several months past, agitators belonging to the Congress and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha have been attempting to produce unrest in the North-West Frontier Province partly through preparations for a civil disobedience movement and partly, by the exploitation of local grievances. Regardless of the fact that the Congress party as a whole were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Sarda Act in the Legislative Assembly, Congress workers in the North-West

Frontier Province have, in their attempts to sow dissension between Government and the people, done their utmost to misrepresent its objects and provisions and to hold it up as an oppressive law passed by the Government. Although the social evil, which the Act is designed to remove, namely, the consummation of marriages before puberty, is believed to be non-existent in the North-West Frontier Province, these agitators have not hesitated to instil into the minds of the population of that province the belief that the Act is designed to offend their religious beliefs and social customs. Side by side which the appeal to religious passions members of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha have attempted to disseminate Communist doctrines in the villages of the Peshawar District.

2. In order to protect the people of the province from the consequences of an agitation, which was beginning to produce dangerous effects, the Local Government decided to arrest on April 23rd certain leaders of the Congress and Youth Movements, who composed the local so-called War Council and who were directing the civil disobedience movement. Nine of the eleven persons, against whom warrants had issued, were arrested without disorder; but the other two are said to have been forcibly rescued by a mob from police custody. The matter was at once reported to the Deputy Commissioner, who proceeded in his own car towards the Kabuli Gate of the city, being accompanied by three armoured cars. On the way he was informed that the two prisoners had given themselves up, and he thereupon ordered the armoured cars to remain behind and proceed without escort towards the Kabuli Gate. He was met by the Assistant Superintendent of Police, who reported that a very violent crowd was near the Kabuli Gate and that the police were unable to deal with the situation. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had himself been injured by a brickbat thrown by one of the crowd. The Deputy Commissioner then called up the armoured cars, and proceeded in his own car to within about 200 yards of the Kabuli Gate, where the reserve police were drawn up, faced by a crowd in a state of high excitement. One of the leaders was armed with an axe, and many members of the crowd were armed with bricks. The Deputy Commissioner entered the leading armoured car and passed through the Gate, the crowd giving way to the car, but pelting it with bricks and stones as it passed. Inside the Gate an Assistant Superintendent of Police was being attacked with brickbats. The armoured car, in which the Deputy Commissioner was seated, continued at a slow pace along the Bazar and then having turned, went back towards the Kabuli Gate. There the second armoured car was at a standstill with a despatch rider under the wheels. The man, it is alleged, had been knocked off his bicycle by a blow on the head dealt by a member of the crowd and the armoured car had then run over him. The same car in the confusion had also run over one or perhaps two persons in

the crowd, whose excitement *had* been increased by the accident. The Deputy Commissioner got out of the armoured car in order to confer with the police officers and persuade the crowd to disperse. While he was attempting to argue with the roiters he was assaulted with stones and brickbats. In the meantime a military officer belonging to an armoured car was attacked by a rioter who tried to wrest his pistol from him. At the same time the mob pressed forward and forced the police up the steps of the Police Station. The Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police still made endeavours to appease the crowd and persuade them to disperse peacefully; but the Deputy Commissioner was knocked senseless by a brick thrown by one of the crowd and was carried inside the Police Station, where police officers and men had also to retire. Meanwhile the crowd attacked the armoured cars and set fire to one of them, thus forcing the crew to descend. One member of the crew, who attempted to take refuge in the second car, was attacked by a rioter with a crowbar and escaped only by firing a revolver. The second armoured car was under heavy attack by rioters armed with hatchets, crowbars and stones, and it was at this stage that the Deputy Commissioner, who had recovered consciousness, authorised the crew to fire. Fire was opened in short bursts and the mob immediately fled. The foregoing represents the account of the initial incidents of the riot received up to date, but the whole matter will come under further examination in the course of the enquiry which is to be held.

3. Subsequently sporadic rioting occurred during the day at different points in the city and all attempts failed to pacify the mob. Reports show that throughout the day fire by the troops and the police was withheld until the last possible moment and on several occasions a hand-to-hand struggle was in progress between them and the crowd before the order was given to fire. Fire was restricted to the minimum and was well controlled, the number of shots fired in all being 109 only.

4. In view of the propagation of deliberate misstatements by interested persons in regard to the origin and nature of the riot, the Government of India desire to invite particular attention to certain features. It is freely alleged that firing was unprovoked and excessive. The facts detailed above are sufficient to refute this charge. The Deputy Commissioner in his desire to avoid the necessity of firing risked his life in endeavouring to prcsuade a hostile and excited mob to disperse. The first shot was fired from a revolver by a member of the crew of an armoured car purely in self defence when he was the victim of a murderous attack. The order for firing by the armoured car was given only after a British soldier had been killed, another armoured car had been set on fire and the crew were being attack-

ed. Throughout the rioting, according to the reports received, the utmost forbearance was shown by the military and the police. The death-roll among the rioters is believed to be about 20 and in addition some 30 wounded received medical treatment in the Government and Mission Hospitals. In addition there are doubtless some cases of injured who were unwilling to go to hospital for treatment, although an assurance was given by the Chief Commissioner that those admitted to hospital would not be prosecuted for participation in the riot. Allowing for these cases the probable number of wounded is about 60. Neither the Government of India nor the Local Government has made any attempt to conceal the number of casualties, and the above statement represents the best estimate they are able to form on the information available.

Malicious reports have been spread that the number of casualties was greatly in excess of the official estimate and that a large number of rioters were deliberately shot down in cold blood. There is no truth whatever in these rumours and the public should give no credence to them.

On the same day as riots occurred at Peshawar, namely the 23rd of April, attempts were made to create disorder at Charsadda in connection with the arrest of certain local agitators. A considerable crowd collected outside the lock-up with the intention of rescuing the arrested persons. It was, however, dispersed without resort to firing. On the next day, a further demonstration was made at Charsadda which was again dispersed without firing. That evening the leaders were removed from the Charsadda jail.

6. Subsequent to the events of the 23rd no firing has taken place at Peshawar. Members of the Congress and Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha organisations have, however, carried on active revolutionary propaganda in the city and in the villages of the Peshawar district, and have made attempts to influence some of the transborder tribes against the British Government. A feature of their campaign is believed to have been the propagation of communist doctrines and the display of communist standards and symbols. Deliberate attempts to arouse feeling against Government on account of the Sarda Act have continued and resort has been made to most unscrupulous methods in this connection. On the 29th of April and subsequent days the Peshawar Congress Committee issued posters and bulletins stating that they were in correspondence with the Haji of Turangzai, who, on their invitation, was raising a lashkar with the intention of entering Peshawar district. The Haji has advanced with a small force towards the border of the Peshawar district and he has been attempting to persuade various tribes to join him. His overtures,

however, have met with no response. It is thus apparent that the Congress and Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha organisations have been engaged in fomenting open rebellion against the Government as by law established, and the Local Government, with the full approval of the Government of India, has declared them to be unlawful associations under the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.

7. On the 4th of May the necessary measures were taken to carry out the arrest of certain persons inside Peshawar city. In the early hours of the morning the city was occupied by troops in strength, and with this military support, the police proceeded to take possession of, and search, the headquarters offices of the two associations. They also arrested seven leading agitators and ten persons of notoriously bad character who had acted, since the 23rd, as leaders of city gangs. No resistance was offered to the arrests and little excitement occurred in the city. In some quarters the shops were shut, but in others they remained open all day and business was carried on as usual. Afridi Khassadars co-operated with the police in the maintenance of order, and those tribesmen, who were in the city on their own business, took little interest in the proceedings. Not a single shot was fired on the 4th, and, upto the time of the issue of this communique, Government have received no information of any untoward incident. The military are acting solely in support of the civil authorities, who remain in charge of the situation. But the presence of the troops enables the police to carry out their functions, which for some days they had been unable fully to perform. As soon as the civil authorities no longer required military support, the troops will be withdrawn from the city. The Congress and the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha organisations have shown in their anxiety to injure the Government, a complete disregard of the dangers to the rest of India arising from their vain and criminal attempts to stir up trouble on the Frontier and to embroil Mohammedans in a movement opposed to their true interests. The Local Government, with the full support of the Government of India, are taking all necessary measures to prevent the intrigues of these evil-doers endangering the peace of the province and the Government are confident that with the collapse of this revolutionary conspiracy, the friendly relations between them and the people will continue unimpaired.

A further communique from the Government of India states that the Punjab Government report, with reference to the communique issued by the Government of India regarding the Peshawar riots on 23rd April, that bad effect is being caused by rumour that there were machine gun fire. The facts are that machine-guns were used on two occasions only and only 30 bullets were fired. Paragraph 2 of the Government of India communique

gives a description of the first occasion. Fire was necessary then in order to save the lives of the armoured car crews who were being attacked heavily by rioters. The second occasion was somewhat later when an attack with iron rails, axes, poles and heavy bamboos was being made by the mob. A number of the Garhwalis were injured and their Commanding Officer was struck in the face with a brick. The crowd had got among the troops and attempts were being made to snatch their rifles away. Warning to the effect that fire would be opened unless they withdrew was given but they attacked more fiercely instead of withdrawing. On this occasion three bullets only were fired by an armoured car.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit Y-6

Peshawar Disturbances Official Enquiry

Simla, May 19

The following *communique* has been issued:—

The Government of India, at the request of the Chief Commissioner, Nort-West Frontier Province, have appointed a Committee, consisting of the Hon. Sir Shah Mahomed Sulaiman, of the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Panckridge, of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, to inquire into the events that occurred at Peshawar on April 23, 1930.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The terms of reference are as follows:—

To inquire into and report on the disturbances which took place in Peshawar City on April 23, and the measures taken on that day to deal with them.

Subject to the exercise by the Chief Commissioner under the North-West Frontier Province Security Regulation, 1922, of his powers of exclusion from the Province and to the discretion of the Committee of enquiry of any persons injured in the riots, or the next of kin of any person who was killed or has died from injuries received during the riots, they may be represented before the Committee by counsel.

No person giving evidence before the Committee will render himself liable to prosecution by reason of any admission he may make, and no such admission will be used against him in any criminal proceedings.

The Committee will commence their sittings in Peshawar on May 26.—A. P. I.

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. PATEL

Exhibit Z

Peshawar Enquiry Commences. Official Witnesses Examined

(Censored)

Peshawar, May 26

Justice Sir S. M. Sulaiman and Mr. Justice Panckridge commenced enquiry into the Peshawar disturbances of 23rd April.

Kazi Mir Ahmed appeared for the prosecution, and Col. Tucker, Judge Advocate-General, watched on behalf of the military.

Captain Cobb, Assistant Commissioner, told the Committee that he and Mr. Metcalf, Deputy Commissioner, were told that rioting had broken out in the city, at about 10 in the morning on 23rd April. They along with four armoured cars and a posse of police went towards the city. Reaching Kabuli Gate, the witness saw a crowd armed with "lathis," crowbars and hatchets and shouting "Long live revolution," but doing nothing, Mr. Metcalf remonstrated with them and asked them to disperse.

The witness, going inside the police station, telephoned to the Brigade Major to despatch immediately to the city an emergency column and was told that orders had been issued.

Coming out, he saw a motor cycle despatch rider lying in front of one armoured car with the crowd hemming round it.

Presuming that the despatch rider had been attacked, they made an attempt at rescue by the police charging the crowd, which was too strong for them. In the face of a shower of brickbats, they were driven inside the police station from where the witness again asked the Brigade Major for reinforcements.

Meanwhile Lt. Singe, who was in charge of armoured cars, was seized by a ruffian from the crowd, who snatching his revolver attempted to shoot him dead. The witness and Mr. Metcalf, however, succeeded in rescuing him. But the crowd succeeded in rescuing the ruffian.

A brick then hit Mr. Metcalf full on his face, leaving him unconscious. Shortly afterwards the crowd, getting tow and oil, ignited one of the armoured cars with the body of the despatch rider.

ARMOURED CARS OPEN FIRE

The witness, realising the danger to the lives of the personnel of the armoured cars, with the permission of Mr. Metcalf, ordered to open fire; and two short bursts of fire were opened by armoured cars, driving back the crowd.

Meanwhile the emergency column, consisting of Gharwalis,

arrived on the scene, and they, in conjunction with the police and armoured cars, moved them inside the city to stabilise the position.

The witness told the committee that he saw no Indian being run over by an armoured car, but saw the body of one lying near one of them.

They had requisitioned the Fire Brigade to put out the fire on aromured car. But before the latter could connect the hoses with the water hydrants the crowd again collected, preventing them from doing so. The crowd collected round armoured cars.

At this stage Major Penny with British troops, and Mr. Isemonger, Inspector-General of Police, arrived on the scene, the latter taking charge from the witness as magistrate.

Cross-examined by Dewan Dinanath, the witness could not say if Pathans had been instigated to participate in the riot as a holy war on the Sarda Act.

Col. Tucker told Justice Sir S. M. Sulaiman that it was necessary to open fire, otherwise the mob would have set fire to the police station.

The witness did not know the number of casualties, nor if any dead bodies had been disposed of by the authorities during the night.

CAUSE OF TROUBLE

Mr. Fookes, Senior Superintendent of Police, corroborating, told the Committee that the trouble originated over the arrests of two Congress leaders. The witness had been informed by the police escorting the accused that they had been mobbed and the arrested persons released. But subsequently Mr. Saadullah Khan, City Magistrate, told the Deputy Commissioner on the phone that the accused had surrendered and the crowd dispersed, so there was no need for reinforcements. The Deputy Commissioner, however, decided to see things for himself and went towards the city with four armoured cars.

The witness, on reaching inside the city, saw a despatch rider lying under the first armoured car and two Peshawaris under the second—the last two in such a position as the front wheels of the car had gone over them. The witness tried to pull out the despatch rider, but failed.

The crowd, who were armed with lathis, wanted their dead comrades. Inspite of promise they would remove the dead bodies, they developed an ugly mood and commenced attacking armoured cars with crowbars, lathis, axes and bricks.—A. P. I.

Crowd was non-violent in the beginning. City Magistrate's Evidence

PESHAWAR OFFICIAL INQUIRY

Peshawar, May 27

Two contrary views in regard to the need of the military quelling the disturbances of April 24 were expressed before the Committee of Enquiry this morning.

Mr. Metcalf, Deputy Commissioner, knew bitterness is caused by bloodshed in India. He decided to take armoured cars to the city when the Assistant Superintendent of Police reported that he had been pelted with stones. On reaching the city he saw a moderate sized mob most violently excited. One of them was brandishing an axe. For the purposes of reconnoitering witness entered the city in an armoured car but reaching the stone throwing range met a most fierce hail of stones and brickbats. As the car stopped one from the crowd commenced hitting it with the axe.

Witness was certain no one was injured by car as it went exceedingly slow constantly using the hooter stopping when the passage was impossible. The crowd made way owing to the moral effect of the armoured car.

Witness made every effort to disperse the crowd but the repulsing of the mounted police by lathis and stones also the attempt to snatch the pistol from the hands of Lt. Singe, convinced him that the situation demanded drastic action. While he was still considering how to communicate orders to men in the armoured cars the witness was struck by a stone and lost consciousness. It was his considered opinion that firing was necessary to save the situation, also lives and property of the Government.

Mr. Saadulla Khan, City Magistrate, on the other hand maintained that the crowd was perfectly non-violent in the beginning. He repeatedly warned the authorities against the employment of the military which would create trouble. Witness did not see if the Assistant Superintendent of Police was pelted with stones and immediately latter had gone to the Cantonment and he tried to get in touch with the Deputy Commissioner in order to tell him not to be prejudiced by the statement of the Assistant Superintendent of Police as there was no need of the Military. The crowd, he said, had no sticks and was melting away after the surrender of two Congressmen who were wanted by the police. Soon after Captain Cobb arrived and told him that armoured cars were outside the police station. Witness getting out saw three of them and bodies of two Indians lying in the road. Soon after the crowd started throwing stones. They were subsequently fired upon twice.—A. P. I.

Latest News Peshawar Enquiry

Peshawar, May 28

Sub-Inspector, Allah-ud-din Shah, giving evidence before Peshawar Enquiry Committee, said he went to arrest two Congress men who accompanied him to the lorry which ultimately stopped in the bazar, its tyres having been cut into pieces. Witness allowed the accused to accompany the crowd to the police station on their giving a word that they would wait for him. This they did.

Subsequently he saw armoured cars coming into the city the first of which ran over and crushed five Indians. The despatch rider, who was coming behind, while attempting to overtake the first armoured car collided, fell down when the crowd started belabouring him.

Before the Official Enquiry Committee, Major Dimond gave details of the wounded and dead that were admitted into the Civil Hospital after the disturbances on the 23rd April. He stated that one man had as many as 16 gun shots while another was a case of gross injury to the head. Five or six people were such as could have been run over by the cars. All wounded and dead were brought to the hospital by the city people on charpais but none by the police in lorries. All dead bodies were handed over to their relations.

Mr. Short, Commandant, Frontier Constabulary, stated that he was ordered to go to Namakmandi with his men as trouble was apprehended in the city. He accordingly went over with eight sowars and when in due course he reached Kabuli Gate he saw a small crowd rushing across the road carrying a wounded man on a charpai and cursing the authorities. A few stones were also being thrown. At the opposite police station he saw three armoured cars standing under one of which lay the body of a soldier and a motor bike. The crowd here was in the most violent attitude. He saw one person dashing in and striking the armoured car with an axe. Under the instructions of the Deputy Commissioner, whom he met there, he with help of his men tried to clear the bye-lane from which there was a rain of stones. The lathi blows were too much for the horses who ran away back and they had to leave their horses and take shelter inside the police station. Witness himself was hit in several places and saw Mr. Metcalfe falling down with the blow of a stone on his face. He then went to the police station and saw a crowd piling something under the armoured car and ultimately setting fire to it. Captain Cobb then gave orders for firing and shortly afterwards Mr. Isemonger having arrived he with his men left for Nimakmandi.

Lala Tekchand, Post Master, Kabuli Gate, stated that the mob on the 23rd April attempted to break into the post office and

ultimately, tried to set fire to it. They smashed all the window panes and broke open several letter boxes and removed letters from them.

Justice Panckridge: The provisions of the Criminal Law regarding the presence of a Magistrate to give order to fire apply in the case of an unlawful assembly but when a soldier is being hit or his comrade's life is in danger it is governed by the provisions of the Penal Code in the matter of right of self-defence.

Replying to Col. Tucker, witness said the armoured cars were so fiercely attacked and there was so much roar in the streets that it was impossible to reach the men in the armoured cars and it was impossible for the Magistrate to give orders.

Mr. Himmatali, Reader, Court of the Honorary Magistrate, deposed that he was present all the while in the court while the disturbances lasted. Although he personally saw nothing he stated what people were shouting outside in the streets. The people stated that two Khilafat leaders, who had been arrested, had been taken inside the police station and shortly afterwards he heard shouts that armoured cars had come in and several people had been run over by them. Witness said that the people started throwing brickbats only after some of the crowd had been crushed by these cars. Then he heard that one European had been killed by the mob and fire was opened upon the crowd. He then closed the doors of the court room.

Mr. Abdul Rahim Beg submitted that when he entered Kabuli Gate he saw bodies of two Indians lying under one armoured car while the body of a soldier lay in front of another car and a motor bike crushed by his side. Witness could not say whether the soldier was wounded but certainly he was unconscious. Going on the top of the police station he saw a crowd pouring oil over one armoured car and one soldier and then setting fire to both of them. Subsequently firing was resorted to the effect of which was that the crowd fell back and the street was cleared.

Peshawar, May 29

The Sulaiman Committee examined nine patients in the Lady Reading Hospital, who had received injuries during the disturbances of April 23. All the patients were still unable to walk and were brought in on stretchers.

Balwant Singh, a Sindhi boy of 12, stated that he was taking food for his brother, and as he entered the Kabuli Gate Bazar he saw an armoured car opening fire and men falling down or running away. He had barely gone 50 paces when he too was hit in the left thigh. Witness was trying to creep aside when two Mussalmans picked him up and brought him to hospital.

Major Dimond, Civil Surgeon, who was called in opined

that witness could have been wounded by a bullet but he could not have been hit directly, as it was a ricochet injury.

Abdul Hakim also stated that he was coming back attending a funeral, when entering the bazar he saw it full of people. Just then he heard people say that the authorities had opened fire. Soon after he himself was hit in the thigh and leg. Witness said that he staggered and fell by the roadside. None came to pick him up for over two hours and then Khilafat volunteers took him to their office and getting him dressed left him in the hospital where he was.

Motor Driver's Version

Ramchandar, motor driver, stated that he had gone to look for his master. When crossing the Kabuli Gate Bazar he saw a crowd following two Khilafat Leaders who were being escorted to the police station. After they had gone in the crowd also attempted to enter the police station but were stopped by the closing of the station gate. Shortly afterwards an armoured car entered the city gate and, although it gave no hooter, people at the sight of it began to run sideways. As it passed on some people came behind this armoured car. Suddenly a second armoured car entered the city at a high speed and without giving the hooter rushed on with the result that four people, including witness were run over by it.

One of these died on the spot while the other two were injured in the legs. Witness had the car running over his stomach. Soon after as he was attempting to crawl aside the third car rushed in running over his back this time. Witness lost consciousness and could not say what happened afterwards.

Major Dimond in this case was of opinion that the result of an X-ray examination showed that witness had three fractures on one side of the body. The Major stated that in case the second armoured car had passed on the injuries of the first the whole thing would have been smashed. But if the second car had passed over other part of his body there would have been traces of injury on the body of the witness which actually there were not. He held that only one car had passed over the witness.

Jumma Khan, breadseller, deposed that he was present at Kabuli Gate when one armoured car entered the city and halted near the police station. Two English officers came out from it and began to beat the crowd which had collected round them. Soon after a second car rushed in knocking down five people, including witness himself. He saw two people lying dead while two others were still alive. Soon after this incident people began to throw stones. Witness managed to crawl out of the city gate and left in a tonga.

Lal Mohammad, a hawker, stated that when he entered the

city he saw that firing had commenced. Bullets were coming down in the lane where he stood, and soon after he himself was hit in the thigh. Witness did not see any brickbats being thrown by the crowd.

Gul Mohammad, a coolie, submitted that directly he had entered the city he was hit by two bullets. He therefore had no time to see, if there were any stones being thrown by the crowd. Before receiving the bullets he had seen three or four armoured cars standing in the streets but he noticed neither an armoured car on fire nor any soldier with a motor bike lying on the road. Syed Akbar, a coolie, deposed that he was passing the road when an armoured car from behind knocked him down running over his body. He lost consciousness. He saw no British officer or bike in the street.

Muhammad Yunus, goldsmith, stated that he had gone to the bazar to buy some medicines and as he was mounting the steps of the shop he was hit by a bullet. There was also another man with him who died on the spot. After lying for two hours at the shop he was brought to hospital by a policeman.

Ramzan, a zamindar, stated that he was entering Kabuli Gate when a British soldier took aim and fired at him. He then crawled out when a man from his village took him to his uncle who brought him the next day to the hospital.

Assurance to Would-be Witnesses

Under the signatures of members of the Inquiry Committee printed reports in Urdu have been distributed in the city and the district of Peshawar inviting people having personal knowledge of material facts relating to the last disturbances to come forward and give evidence, and informing them of protection against prosecution by reason of any admission. The under-trial political prisoners in the Peshawar Jail have also been informed.

Peshawar, May 29

After Lunch

Five more witnesses were examined by the Committee after lunch to-day all of whom belonged to the locality where firing took place on April 23. The agent of Grindlay's stated that he saw two prisoners in a motor lorry full of policemen which had been marooned by the crowd two of whom were rending over tyres with knives. Subsequently he saw people erecting barricades in streets which were pulled down by armoured cars. Abdur Rauf, Vakil, Samvel, Petition writer, and Khan Sahib Sarfraz Khan all of whom have lodgings in the streets, described the events of the day which led to firing. Durga Charan, Inspector of Post Office, deposed that several letter boxes had been broken open that day and one was filled with mud.—A. P. I.

MILITARY EVIDENCE

Second Phase of Riot

(Censored)

Peshawar, May 30

Captain Gatehouse and Major Penny were examined by the Sulaiman Committee this morning, both describing the second phase of the riot which led to the opening of fire a second time.

Captain Gatehouse of the R.T.C. stated that on arriving in the city he saw a dense crowd, almost touching the radiator of an armoured car, while another armoured car along with a motor bike burning. The crowd, although not very hostile, was unfriendly.

Shortly afterwards, the crowd commenced erecting barricades, one of which almost touched an armoured car. For the safety of the crew of the car he could not allow such action, and with the approval of Mr. Isemonger, Inspector-General of Police, he moved up the car and demolished all the barricades.

This excited the crowd, who now started throwing bricks; and one man struck the headlights of the car with an axe. The witness again told Mr. Isemonger that he could not allow such things. And on his suggestion orders were given to Captain Rickets to form a cordon of the Garhwalis round the car. But all attempts to achieve the object failed. Captain Rickets who advanced forward was pushed back by the crowd, engulfed and struck with a stone. This was a signal for the crowd to rush forward with lathis.

Mr. Isemonger now gave order to open fire. The witness getting into the armoured car had ten rounds fired, which melted the crowd like magic.

Eventually he went back to the police station. Under the command of Colonel Sutherland and in conjunction with troops, he, in armoured cars, had the city patrolled in the evening.

Major Penny, second in command of the K.O.Y.L.I. Company, stated that he reached the city with his men at about 12 on 23rd April. On a requisition from the police he spread his men to form a cordon round the armoured cars behind the police. The mob was still quiet. Shortly afterwards, he found that the crowd had armed themselves with lathis. He described the incident which led to the wounding of Captain Ricketts.

The witness said that, in addition to the armoured car section, the troops also opened fire. Opening fire was absolutely justified from the military point. They could not have done anything else, and the crowd would have isolated the whole military force there is batches of two or four.

The mob disappeared after the firing, and the roads were clear.

The witness said altogether 68 rounds were fired from rifles and seven from revolvers.

The committee rose for lunch.

Peshawar, May 31

The Riots Inquiry Committee heard this morning the remaining military evidence before it adjourned till Monday, when the last of the formal evidence will be recorded. It is expected that on Monday will be the last public sitting of the Committee.

Brigadier Sandilands, Commander, Peshawar Brigade, who gave evidence as a military expert, stated that both the military officers and the rank and file viewed with disfavour their employment in civil disturbances and regarded it as an extremely disagreeable duty. Mr. Justice Panckridge confined his examination to the use and utility of armoured cars.

Moral Effect

Witness told the Committee that the cars, which were taken to the city on April 23, were not electrified. Mobility was the great advantage that armoured cars possessed over infantry. It was very difficult to say if the moral effect of armoured cars is always superior to that of infantry.

There were cases when the use of armoured cars was a necessity.

Brigadier Sandilands could not say if under the conditions existing in Peshawar on April 23, the armoured cars lost any of their advantages over infantry.

Replying to Mr. Justice Sulaiman, witness said there was no expressed provisions that an armoured car should follow another leading car of its sub-section, even if it had to trample upon some members of the crowd who had come in between.

Lessons

He agreed with Mr. Justice Panckridge that officers should keep in the closest touch and have strict control over their men in civil disturbances. He also agreed that there were lessons to be drawn from the events of April 23, in the matter of using armoured cars in riots.

He felt that the armoured cars were taken to the city without proper consideration of the situation. It would have been better to send senior military executive officer to control the troops from the outset.

Police Duty

He said that charging a mob was a police duty and such

action of the military could only be justified when the police ceased to function. In no circumstances, however, should the mob be allowed "to come up breast to breast with the military," and the only alternative was to open fire, if the objective of the authorities was to disperse the crowd long before that stage were reached.

Replying to Col. Tucker, witness said that it was wrong to place troops in such a position that they might be unable to hear the orders of their Commanding Officers.

Burnt Armoured Cars

Sergeant Martin, of the K.O.Y.L.I., stated that as he with his men arrived in the city, he saw a dead body of a British Officer lying outside the city gate and an armoured car burning inside. Subsequently, he saw the Garhwalis breaking through and pushing back two of his own men who were attacked with bamboo poles by the crowd.

Immediately afterwards an armoured car opened fire, as also two of his men. The effect of the firing was that the crowd dispersed and there was no subsequent firing.

Excited Mob

Sergeant Hoyal, of the K.O.Y.L.I., who had his men picketting a side lane, corroborating Sergeant Martin's statement, said that the breaking through of the Garhwalis and the injury to Captain Rickets on the face gave considerable encouragement to the crowd, who started attacking the armoured cars with bamboos and throwing stones at the soldiers.

The mob advanced in an excited mood and it looked as if nothing would stop it. Witness realising the danger to his men, ordered them to open fire and three rounds were fired. He saw no casualties, and none of his men fired at the by-lanes.

Colonel Sutherland, Commanding Poona Horse, said that he was amazed to find an armoured car wrecked and burning and road strewn with bricks. Near the burning car lay a motor bicycle and there were several wooden barricades across the road.

Revolutionary Banners

Taking with him a sub-section of two armoured cars and two platoons of the K.O.Y.L.I., he patrolled the streets to clear them of the mob and also of the barricades. He met with no resistance.

He went to the Congress headquarters, which was full of people and from there with the help of two Indian police constables, he got all the revolutionary banners and posters. After that he returned to the police station.

Captain Hazlett and Risaldar Sher Bahadur Khan, both of the Poona Horse, corroborated Colonel Sutherland's statement, Captain Hazlett adding that he saw lots of people passing with charpoys with dead and wounded.

Peshawar, June 3

The Sulaiman Inquiry Committee after adjourning for Sunday reassembled to-day (Monday) at 10 a.m. Captain Brooks of the K.O.Y.L.I., was the first witness to be examined. He said that he with his men reached the Kabuli Gate at 11-30 a.m. (Here Mr. Metcalfe, Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, came in and witness was asked to make room for him and to continue his statement afterwards).

Justice Panckridge (to Mr. Metcalfe):—

It seems to be strange that the officials have won the affection of the people.

Mr. Metcalfe:—The relations have been extremely friendly and pleasant. The average Pathan is hospitable but it is very difficult to get in touch with the city people.

The Congress has been preaching civil disobedience. A:—There was a meeting at Shahi Bagh and subsequently liquor shops and quarters were picketed.

Q.—Have you seen any leaflets?

A.—It is a part of the intelligence work.

Resuming the statement Captain Brookes stated that he saw the smouldering body of a British soldier and an armoured car burning with the rounds exploding within. At 12-15 he was ordered to take six platoons up the street to hold the crowd back. The crowd was at the crossways and filled Kissa Khani as well as the side street and the armoured car was in the middle. Mr. Isemonger was standing in the centre of the crowd apparently pacifying them. One or two upper class Indians were also doing the same. There was a certain amount of stone throwing which was going on all the time. The excitement and stone throwing increased. He saw probably all of his men and twenty of Garhwalis being hit with stones. He saw Captain Ricketts bleeding from the head. At about 1-15 p.m. people began to make a barrier right in front of the armoured car. At the same time another barricade was being made up the street 100 yards ahead. Things got considerably worse and stones were coming from the roofs and house tops. People began to push the Garhwalis back with lathis. Their line was broken and they retreated. Rifle fire was opened followed by machine-gun fire. The crowd disappeared. After the firing stopped, he advanced forward with four of his men. Later on he was joined by one sergeant and two men. He fired one round from his revolver.

Replying to Justice Panckridge witness said that he did not remember any incident of stopping his men from shooting at a person.

Replying to Justice Sulaiman witness said that he fired four rounds in all.

Corporal Hevarin of the K.O.Y.L.I., was next examined. He said that on April 23, he was in the city with his Company. After the firing at the cross-roads he went with four men with Captain Brooke. He saw a man in a neighbouring street fire a rifle from the balcony and he returned the fire from the end of the street. He was ordered to fire at anyone throwing stones from the roofs. They fired ten shots in all.

Shot at by British Soldier

Ghulam Jan, son of Juma Khan, an aluminum merchant, then gave evidence. He said that he came to his shop in Bazar Misgaran at 8 a.m. An hour later Agha Lal Badshah was arrested at the turning of the Bazar Misgaran. Presently another man came accompanied by a crowd shouting "Long Live Revolution" and went towards the Kabuli Gate. After an hour or so he heard that people had been trampled by armoured cars.

After some time he saw three or four bodies being carried away on stretchers. By 1-30 p.m. he closed his shop and proceeded homeward. There being a large crowd in the Egerton Hospital Bazar he proceeded down the lane which ran parallel to Kissa Khani. He was just at the turning of Mohalla Nazar Taher Wardi when he was shot in the side by a British soldier. Three or four more shots were fired at him. But as he had fallen on the other side of the street they missed him. He managed to creep up the other end of the street from where he was taken down by some persons and then got admitted to the C. M. S. Hospital.

Mr. Karim Bakhsh, Inspector of Schools, North-West Frontier Province, then related that while going to his office on morning of the 23rd at 10-10 a.m. he saw a huge crowd in Kissa Khani. He could not say if the people were carrying lathis.

Abdul Hamid Khan, son of Hanan Khan, Government Contractor, said that on the morning of the 23rd April at 9 a.m. he was sitting in the Islamia Club Library outside Kabuli Gate. After an hour he got out he saw a big crowd in the Kabuli Gate. When he entered the gate he saw Ghulam Rabbani and Allah Bakhsh Bijli with two policemen. The gate was closed. Both of them addressed the people briefly to keep non-violent and to carry on the movement. They knocked at the door. It was not opened. Then they went outside the Kabuli Gate and came back with a young Police Inspector who got the wicket opened. They entered inside. Some of the crowd dispersed.

Presently a body of police entered the city stood on the pavement. A police officer also entered the city but got back after some time. An armoured car entered at high speed taking the people unawares, trampled some, threw back others and then stopped at some distance. It was followed by a despatch rider who stopped somewhere when another armoured car came in and ran over him as well as some of the people. He got inside the Honorary Magistrate's car, remained there for some time when he heard pistol shots. Then he went to the office of Arbab Nishtar. Troops began to pour in. At that moment he saw four armoured cars. Before the arrival of the troops he saw people getting out injured persons from under the car, about seven or eight, half of them being dead. At about 1-30 p.m. machine-gun fire was opened on the defenceless people. The British troops fired in front as well as on the side streets. A young man who was probably wounded and tried to run away was shot down. Another man carrying a baby was shot down and the baby was caught hold of by leg and hurled at a distance. He stood in the veranda of his balakhana, thus watching for five or seven minutes and then went inside closing all the gates lest he be shot at. The firing went on incessantly upto one hour and then single shots were heard upto 4 or 5 p.m. Then he saw constables standing in the street and saw a few Pathans washing their hands at the tap near Dhaki Nalbandi. There a wounded person asked for water from a Pathan and was supplied with it. Marks of blood were everywhere but the corpses were removed. It is not known by whom. He called at a Sub-Inspector to relieve him who asked him to come down.

He wanted to go to Karimpura by the main road, but was prevented by the Sub-Inspector who told him that wild British soldiers were shooting at the people whom they met.

In reply to the Public Prosecutor the witness said that he did attend the enquiry twice or thrice. His brother was arrested after the 23rd April, but he himself did not belong to any party.

The witness was cross-examined at length by Justice Sulaiman about the order in which the cars were standing.

He said that the first car was standing at the cross-roads followed by another at some distance and then another at the same distance. While the last or the fourth was that which was on fire.

He was also cross-examined about the arrival of the Sikh troops mentioned in the earlier part of the statement, while the military had shown that no Sikh troops were sent until 5 p.m.

Witness could not give any plausible explanation.

While questioned by Justice Panckridge the witness said that he saw Mr. Isemonger standing face to face with the people in

first row and possibly talking with them. He did not see anyone flourishing lathi or throwing bricks.

Replying to Colonel Tucker the witness said that he saw brickbats strewn over the road, but he did not know when and from whom they came.

Ghulam Ahmed, son of Ghulam Samdani of Gangu stated that at about 8 a.m. on the 23rd April he heard that most of the leaders had been arrested and that two of them were yet to be arrested. The people closed their shops and observed hartal. When he reached the cloth-sellers lane he saw Ghulam Rabbani and another follower by a crowd. These two persons were exhorting the public to be non-violent. When they reached the "A" Division its door was closed and so they went outside the Kabuli Gate and came back with a Sub-Inspector, the wicket was opened and they entered in batches of ten to twenty. Many people left the crowd after every few minutes. He took the way to his house and had reached Charwar Koban when he saw some people running up and saying that people were fired at and run over by armoured cars. Presently the Khilafat volunteers came running with empty stretchers and a few spare stretchers. One of the stretchers was taken by him. He left for Kissa Khani. He saw a dead horse at the turning of Misgaran. The fire was going on and people were running away. He with the other stretcher bearers went straight to the Kabuli Gate and they were not shot upon on account of wearing slaches. They removed six bodies in all, one wounded and five dead.

Wounded Man Shot Down

At about 2 p.m. when they wanted to make a trip to Kissa Khani they were prevented from doing so on account of being told that British troops shot at every one they came across. So they went by the side streets and reached Jahangirpura where one of their workers was shot down and they took him on the stretcher. They saw a wounded man while trying to get up was shot by a soldier and finished. Some bodies were lying in the streets and some were still lying at the place they left. They took one wounded to the Lady Reading Hospital. Some people were taken to Dr. Khan Sahib's dispensary.

After Lunch

Diwan Dinanath, Barrister, was the last of the witnesses to be examined after lunch. He said that he was sitting in his balakhana at 9 a.m. on the 23rd of April, 1930, with Mr. Sarfraz-khan, Rai Sahib Meher Chand and some other friends. He saw two men who were arrested along with a crowd of 200 to 300 people coming outside the gate. There fruits and cold drinks were offered to them. At that moment Captain Hissamuddin arrived

there in a car and the two persons in question cleared the way for him. At this the crowd began to speak ill of Captain Hissamuddin and abused Sir Norman Bolton and Mr. Sadullahkhan. The two went inside followed by the crowd. He went up the second floor and saw with the help of his binocular. Mr. Sadullah Khan was sitting in the upper story quite calm. There an Assistant Superintendent of Police arrived, who seeing a large crowd was non-plussed. He entered the "A" Division, people hooted and threw sugar cane bits at him, but the witness was positive that no brickbats were thrown at him. It seems that he was not a good horseman and so his horse bolted. The armoured cars arrived. In the first car Mr. Metcalfe was sitting and it was going at a speed of 5 to 10 miles a minute or two. After the first car had entered the archway a second car was at a distance of three yards from the first. He heard a noise that some men were trampled.

Replying to Justice Sulaiman the witness said that before the despatch rider had entered the gate he heard a shout that people were trampled and he was quite sure of that. He saw the cars the third and fourth being pelted with stones. He thought the third was on fire. He could see Mr. Metcalfe and two other officers struggling, he could not say for what. Shortly after he saw Mr. Metcalfe wounded. Then the troops arrived. He could not say anything about the second firing.

The witness was cross-examined by each of the judges as well as by Colonel Tucker. The witness having finished Colonel Tucker took leave to explain some of the incidents connected with the firing. Then the Judges shook hands with the counsel and thanked them and the enquiry came to an end at about 3-30 p.m.

The Hon. Justice Shah Sulaiman gave the following to the press at the close of the enquiry: "The Enquiry Committee have examined 56 witnesses including the wounded lying in the Lady Reading Hospital. There was no other witness who had either previously intimated that he would give evidence or appear before the Committee to give evidence. The Committee accordingly closed the enquiry on the 2nd of June, 1930. There is to be no further sitting of the Committee in public."

4-6-30 (Sd.) V. J. Patel

Appendix A

I left the Military Dairy at about 7-30 a.m., on 31st May, 1930 in a Tonga with my wife and four children (two daughters and two sons) the eldest daughter Harpal Kaur aged about 9½ years and 2nd daughter Gursaran Kaur aged about 6 years and two sons named Gursaran Singh and Bachattar Singh aged about

3½ years and 1½ years respectively.

My aunt had her grandson—Gurbir Singh aged about 4 years with her. We entered the City through the Dabgari Gate and went to the Gurdwara of Bhai Joga Singh to join the Gurpurb prayers on the martyrdom day of Guru Arjan Dev. We sat there for about an hour and joined the prayers. Then we left the Gurdwara with intention to go to Bhai Biba Singh Gurwara and got out of the City through Bijori Gate in the same Tonga.

Outside the Kabuli Gate a traffic control Sentry signalled us to proceed on as we wished to enter into the Kissa Khanni Bazar. As soon as our Tonga passed through the Kabuli Gate, I saw on my right side some British soldiers in the middle storey of a building just opposite the Police Station. Immediately I heard a shot from that building and my wife cried and said "take the son he is dying." I took the baby whom I found already dead. The order of our sitting in Tonga was as under:—

Myself and two children (Gursaran Kaur and Gursaran Singh) in the front seat to the left of the driver, and in the back seat was my daughter Harpal Kaur behind the driver. Her mother was sitting to her right holding Bachattar Singh against her left arm. And my aunt and her grandson were to the right of my wife. Harpalkuar was facing on her left. Tonga went a few paces before it could stop on account of the horse being frightened. I got down and saw my wife badly wounded and the daughter dying. I tried to give some water to my daughter but she died before I could give it. Some men gathered there and took the dead bodies and my wife to the Police Station. I saw a Lt.-Col. coming towards my Tonga to whom I said this is your bad Bandobast. In the Police Station the wounds of my wife and dead bodies were covered. Some persons took my wife to the Lady Reading Hospital and I left the dead bodies under the care of an I. M. D. Jamadar and went to the Hospital, escorted by a Muslim, where the wounds of my wife were properly dressed. Soon after the dead bodies were also brought into the Hospital, a few minutes after Hakim Abdul Jalil came to the Hospital with a letter from the Deputy Commissioner to the effect that the dead bodies may be handed over to him, so that he may disperse the people who had gathered near the Police Station demanding the dead bodies. On this the dead bodies were handed over to him and were taken away by the Public to Gurdwara for performance of last rites. The public took away the dead bodies from Gurdwara and I returned to the Hospital to look after my wife. After seeing her I went out to join the funeral of my children whom I joined in Ganj Bazar. I found people in a mourning state.

S. Gunga Singh's children, a girl and a boy aged respectively about 9 and 3 years killed near Kabuli Gate (now known as Khuni Gate) Peshawar, on 31st May 1930

Therefrom we all proceeded towards Clock Tower, on our way in front of Gorkhatri, I along with Haji Mohmad Salim asked the people, who were going peacefully to remain peaceful and follow the golden principle of non-violence even in case of highest provocation and all of them solemnly promised.

On this we had hardly passed 50 or 60 paces when I saw a party of British soldiers numbering about 25 coming from the opposite direction. Without any previous warning of any sort that I could hear came suddenly the shower of bullets from their rifles. People ran in all directions for their lives and the bazar became in a short time quite clear of the people. I remained standing and saw two carriers of stretchers, on which were the dead bodies of my children shot from close quarter of 2 yards. The dead bodies had fallen on the ground with the fall of those two persons who were carrying the stretchers, one of them was Autar Singh and another was a Muslim. As I could not bear to see the dead bodies in that disgraceful state I naturally was anxious to get hold of the bodies, but inspite of my request I was stopped from doing so by a British soldier who aimed his rifle at me. I sat down disappointed for about 15 seconds or so when Haji Mohammad Salim drew me aside, soldiers marched off smilingly towards the Gorkhatri. I and Haji Salim began to gather the dead bodies and render first aid to the wounded. I had not seen the dead bodies of my children being carried away by anybody. I thereafter having arranged for other dead bodies being carried away, I started to search for the dead bodies of my children and eventually found them in the Gurdwara of Bhai Biba Singh from where we went to the cremation ground.

GANGA SINGH
Superintendent Dairy Farm

31-5-30

Appendix A-1

A. I. C. C.
PESHAWAR ENQUIRY COMMITTEE
Camp Rawalpindi
4th June, 1930

To

Sardar Ganga Singh

DEAR SIR

Two copies of your statement dated 31st of May, 1930, signed by you have been delivered to me to-day together with copies of the letters from the Revenue Commissioner and Officer Commanding, 2nd B.K.O.Y.L.I. respectively dated 31st ultimo.

The Committee leaves to-night for Lahore. If you write on receipt of this letter to me giving your permission to make such use of your statement as the Committee thinks fit you should do so to the following address.

C/o. Mrs. L. R. Zutshi
Panjmahal Road, Lahore

Let me add that I sympathise with you in your deep sorrow and irrepairable loss.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) R. S. Pandit
Hon. Secretary

Appendix A-2

Lady Reading Hospital
Peshawar City
5-6-30

Dear Sir

Ref: your letter dated 4th June 1930 I have no objection to the Committee making such use of my statement for purpose of their report as it think fit.

I thank you very much for the kind sympathy expressed by you in the above letter.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Ganga Singh

To
The Secretary
A. I. C. C. C.
Peshawar Enquiry Committee

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